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# Near East/South Asia Report

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30 May 1985

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

## CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## Briefs

Jordanian-Egyptian Agreements Signed	1
--------------------------------------	---

## ARAB AFRICA

## EGYPT

Review of Key Developments in the Sinai (Su'ad Abu-al-Nasr; AKHBAR AL-YAWM, 20 Apr 85) .....	2
AL-AHRAM Views Jewish Protests at Bitburg (Anis Mansur; AL-AHRAM, 2 May 85) .....	8
Banking, Currency Dealers Case Judgment Reviewed (Atif Zaydan; AL-AKHBAR, 23 Apr 85) .....	9
Nile, Lake Nasir Levels Seen Dangerously Low (Muhammad 'Abd-al-Tawwab; AL-TADAMUN, 4 May 85) .....	15
Scathing Criticism of Those Looking to the Past (Editorial, Mustafa Amin; AKHBAR AL-YAWM, 20 Apr 85) .....	17
Poor Planning for Government Projects Criticized (Editorial; Jalal-al-Din al-Hamamsi; AL AKHBAR, 16 Apr 85) .....	19
Officials Concerned Over Water Shortage (AL-HAWADITH, 26 Apr 85) .....	21
Foreign Experts' Contributions Not Adequately Recognized (Anis Mansur; AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH, 13 Apr 85) .....	22



Briefs		
AL-AHALI Editor Convicted of Slander		24
LIBYA		
Background on Postponement of AAPSO Conference (FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH, 30 Mar 85)		25
SUDAN		
Ansar Leader, Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi Interviewed (Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi Interview; AL-MAJALLAH, 30 Apr 85)		33
Domestic, Foreign Problems Facing New Government Discussed (AL-TADAMUN, 27 Apr 85)		39
New Government's Difficult Problems, by 'Uthman Mirghani		39
New Cabinet Members Listed		41
Relations With Egypt Examined, by al-Fatih al-Tijani		42
John Garang Profiled (Eric Rouleau; AL-HAWADITH, 26 Apr 85)		47
FRG TV Interviews Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab (Claus P. Clausen; ZDF, 1 May 85)		50
Kuwaiti Paper AL-ANBA' Interviews Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab ('Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab Interview; AL-ANBA', 22 Apr 85)		52
Al-Mahdi Calls for 'Charter;' Republic (MENA, 24 Apr 85)		54
Ruse Used by Coup Plotters To Overthrow Numayri Described (Mahmud Idris; AL-YAMAMAH, 24 Apr 85)		55
TUNISIA		
Briefs		
Authorized Source on Security Incident		62
ARAB EAST/ISRAEL		
ISRAEL		
Arab Workers, Histadrut Election Campaign (Qasem Zayid; 'AL HAMISHMAR, 17 Mar 85)		63
New Debate on IDF's Deterrence Capability (Reuven Pedahzur; HA'ARETZ, Mar 85)		67

Possibilities for Security Zone in South Lebanon Examined (Ze'ev Schiff; HA'ARETZ, 22 Mar 85) .....	70
Need for New Defense Strategy (Zvi Timor; 'AL HAMISHMAR, 26 Mar 85) .....	73
Brooklyn in Samaria - Profile of 'Immanu'el (Amnon Barzili; HA'ARETZ, 1 Mar 85) .....	77
Time Bomb: Arab Workers From the Territories in Tel Aviv (Eli Danon; MA'ARIV, 22 Mar 85) .....	83
Shale Oil Project in Negev (Shelomo Giv'on; MA'ARIV, 26 Mar 85) .....	87
Decision-Making in the Territories (Yehuda Litani; HA'ARETZ, 10 Mar 85) .....	93
Rabin - Qatif Part of Israel (Rafi Ga'on; HA'ARETZ, 21 Mar 85) .....	96
Briefs	
Israel, U.S. Agricultural Cooperation Agreement	97
Egyptian Ship Unloading at Haifa	97
Israeli-Yugoslav Deal Signed	97
Commander Discloses Foiled 'Terrorist' Attacks	97
Peres Invites Bhekimpi to Visit	98
Israel-Canada Aviation Agreement	98
1984 Tax Collection Increases	98
Exports Increase 2 Percent	98
Unemployment Compensation Statistics	98
Unemployment Down in April	98

## JORDAN

King Husayn's Spanish Parliament Speech (SAWT AL-SHA'B, 27 Mar 85) .....	99
JERUSALEM STAR on Jordanization of Banks (Robert Pouliot; THE JERUSALEM STAR, 18-24 Apr 85) .....	104
Al-Rifa'i Meets Transport Sector Representatives (JORDAN TIMES, 13 Apr 85) .....	106
Columnist Comments on Need for Popular Army (Nasuh al-Majali; SAWT AL-SHA'B, 15 Apr 85) .....	109
Studies Indicate Large Shale Oil Reserves (SAWT AL-SHA'B, 3 Apr 85) .....	111
Briefs	
Iraqi Oil Exploration Team	112
Agriculture Project Planned	112

Jordanian Exports, Imports	112
Oil Refinery Expanded	112
Diplomats Posted	113
SAUDI ARABIA	
Governor of Qasim Discusses Development Projects (Muhammad 'Abd-al-Sattar; AL-YAMAMAH, 3 Apr 85)	114
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	
Briefs	
Infiltrators Apprehended	124
PRC, French Ambassadors	124
Awqaf Delegation to Egypt, Maghreb	124
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN	
Opposition Publication Speculates on Effect of Isma'il's Return (Muhammad Shudri; AL-WAHDAH, 15 Mar 85)	125
Opposition Journal Analyzes Cabinet Changes (AL-JANUB AL-YAMANI, 28 Feb 85)	132
SOUTH ASIA	
AFGHANISTAN	
Reports on Elections of Loya Jirgah Claim Enthusiastic Support (KABUL NEW TIMES, 17 Apr 85)	134
Convocation of Loya Jirgah Assures Participation of Masses (KABUL NEW TIMES, 16 Apr 85)	135
Election of Representatives to Loya Jirgah Under Way (KABUL NEW TIMES, 16 Apr 85)	137
Press Considers Convocation of Loya Jirgah for National Unity (KABUL NEW TIMES, 16 Apr 85)	139
Peasants Mobilized for Cooperatives (KABUL NEW TIMES, 9 Apr 85)	141
Public Polled on Convening of Loya Jirgah (KABUL NEW TIMES, 15 Apr 85)	144
Iran Accused of Mistreating Afghan Nationals (KABUL NEW TIMES, 8 Apr 85)	146

New School Construction Projected  
(KABUL NEW TIMES, 17 Apr 85) ..... 148

DRA Boasts Success in Agricultural Spheres  
(KABUL NEW TIMES, 8 Apr 85) ..... 150

Briefs

Soviet Technical Assistance ..... 151  
Kindergartens Expanding ..... 151

INDIA

Sixth Plan Reviewed, Seventh Plan Challenges Noted  
(P. A. Seshan; THE HINDU, 1984) ..... 152

IRAN

Public Warned To Observe Islamic Laws  
(ETTELA'AT, 22 Apr 85) ..... 161

Paper Comments on Hezbollahi Zealots Demonstrations  
(Hamid Setayeshgar; ETTELA'AT, 21 Apr 85) ..... 164

Velayati's Contacts With Nonaligned Ministers Elaborated  
(ETTELA'AT, 21 Apr 85) ..... 166

Majlis Approves Increase in Exit Fee  
(KEYHAN, 17 Mar 85) ..... 170

Interior Minister: Nation's Destiny Rides on Outcome of War  
(SOBH-E AZADEGAN, 15 Mar 85) ..... 173

Ministry Announces Housing Guarantee Policies  
(KEYHAN, 23 Apr 85) ..... 174

Khomeyni Calls for University Reform  
(KEYHAN, 17 Apr 85) ..... 178

Khomeyni: We Must Defend Islam on All Fronts  
(KEYHAN, 15 Apr 85) ..... 180

Admission Test for Teacher Training Centers Announced  
(KEYHAN, 15 Apr 85) ..... 182

Mujahidin Step-Up Activity in North  
(KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 24 Apr 85) ..... 184

Briefs

Public Participation in Housing ..... 185

## NEPAL

Commentary Discusses Opposition Group's Political Aspirations (Shrish S. Rana; THE MOTHERLAND, 25 Apr 85) .....	186
Food Program for 34 Districts Planned (THE RISING NEPAL, 21 Apr 85) .....	188
Oil Said 'Well Stocked' (THE MOTHERLAND, 17 Apr 85) .....	189

## PAKISTAN

Agreements To Promote Economic Ties With Arab Countries Signed (DAWN, 23 Apr 85) .....	190
Plans To Resume Population Control Measures Endorsed (Linesman; VIEWPOINT, 18 Apr 85) .....	191
Release of Ailing Political Prisoners Urged (VIEWPOINT, 18 Apr 85) .....	193
Commentary Discusses 'Usefulness' of New Assemblies (Ayaz Amir; VIEWPOINT, 18 Apr 85) .....	194
Asghar Khan Praised for Stand on Secularism, Islam (M. B. Naqvi; VIEWPOINT, 18 Apr 85) .....	196

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

JORDANIAN-EGYPTIAN AGREEMENTS SIGNED--Amman, 31 Mar (PETRA)--Several agreements on trade exchange between Jordan and Egypt were signed at the Ministry of Industry and Trade today. They were signed for the Jordanian side by Dr Ibrahim Badran, under secretary of the Ministry of Industry and Trade and chairman of the board of directors of the Jordanian trade centers corporation, and for the Egyptian side by Kamal Hilali, chairman of the board of directors of Al-Nasir Company for importation and exportation. The agreements contained details of the ways to implement the agreement according to which the Jordanian trade centers corporations and Al-Nasir Company will organize and operate all import and export operations in both countries. A banking agreement was also signed. According to this agreement, an executive bank in both countries will be specified for opening credits and regulating banking operations and measures that are customary in exportation and importation. [Excerpts]  
[Amman PETRA-JNA in Arabic 1500 GMT 31 Mar 85 JN]

CSO: 4400/135

EGYPT

## REVIEW OF KEY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SINAI

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 20 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Su'ad Abu-al-Nasr: "After The Return of The Lord, The Challenge Began; How Does Life Go on in New Sinai?]

[Text] (During these 6 years, the challenge was a civilizational one aimed at restoring life to the Sinai deserts so that they may be turned into housing projects, schools, hospitals and a green land.

(The purpose of this challenge is to join Sinai to its mother.

(What happened during this period?

(To answer this question we took a tour in the land of the moon, the land of turquoise.)

We will let the figures talk because they do not lie. They talk about the size of the challenge and what has been accomplished in 6 years. The accomplishments notwithstanding, there are still problems and the challenge will play a great role in overcoming them in the coming years with the same defiance as was witnessed in the last 6 years.

The tour was in northern Sinai, where the figures are:

In 1979, northern Sinai had only 29 schools. Today, it has 217 schools, in addition to two al-Azhar institutes, two teachers' colleges and an education college. In October, a science college and an agriculture college will be opened.

In 1979, there were only 50 beds in the al'Arish General Hospital and four ambulances. Today, there are 200 beds, 66 health units, 20 ambulances and a nursing school.

Sinai begins its national day celebrations next Wednesday morning, 6 days after the land was returned to beloved Sinai, to record the peace accomplishments during 6 years of a civilizational challenge which is no less inimitable than the military challenge witnessed during the four wars that irrigated its land with the blood of its martyrs.

In 1979, when northern Sinai was returned, there were 29 schools, and now it has 217 schools, two al-Azhar institutes, two teachers' colleges and one education college. The colleges of science and agriculture will be opened next October. The education budget is only 9,802,000 Egyptian pounds.

In the area of housing, northern Sinai had 4 buildings for public housing in 1979 while today the housing budget is 74.2 million Egyptian pounds. For the first time, the nomads are housed in modern nomad housing on the order of 1,081 housing units and 2,000 administrative housing units plus 2,100 cooperative units. Northern Sinai is undergoing a significant construction movement, both by the private and public sectors.

In the field of health, northern Sinai had 50 beds at the al-'Arish General Hospital and 4 ambulances. Now it has 200 beds and 66 units.

In the field of tourism where investments totalled 10 million Egyptian pounds, northern Sinai had no tourism to speak of in 1979. Now it has become a sophisticated tourist center with 1,500 hotel beds, both public and private, in addition to hundreds of chalets and camp grounds along the beaches of al-Shaykh Zuwayd, Rafah, Rummanah and al-'Arish. Many new tourism projects will also be opened.

In agriculture and animal resources, up until 1967, Sinai used to get all sorts of food items by the military train via the al-Firdan Bridge. If the train broke down, Sinai went hungry because people could not find foodstuffs.

Before the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai, the "Sinai Sinut" agricultural settlement in Wadi al-'Arish and all other agricultural settlements were destroyed. All their wells were filled up with earth and all the reservoirs in the area were blown up. In other words, agriculture began from scratch in 1979 and, due to the awareness of the Sinai people and their ability to grasp sophisticated techniques, 7,516 feddans have been reclaimed and are irrigated by rain water. And, 6,503 feddans have been added to land cultivated by the sprinkler irrigation system. Now, northern Sinai exports 80 tons of citrus fruits daily and 80 tons of vegetables to the governorates of Egypt, Aswan and the European market. It also has cattle fattening and poultry hatching farms and a quail farm that completely covers the governorate's local consumption; it will begin exporting animal resources to other governorates. It supplies the Cairo markets with fish from al-Bardawil Lake that produces 18 to 35 tons of high-quality fish daily.

#### Attracting Wadi People

When northern Sinai was returned, it had a population of about 70,000 inhabitants. The last official census in 1982 set the number at 140,000 souls and is now estimated at 154,000. Its officials hope that its population will hit the 3 million mark in the year 2000.

Therefore, People's Assembly member Suhayr Jalbanah is demanding that efforts be stepped up to make it an area that attracts the [Nile] Valley people. People's Assembly member Dr Mustafa Quwaydir believes that it is a main factor



in vacating the Nile Valley because we suffer a problem of population maldistribution more serious than the population growth.

#### Bringing Nile Water to al-'Arish

The people of al-'Arish and neighboring towns and villages suffer from the saltiness of the water which is not fit for drinking. This is a basic demand and, despite their full recognition of accomplishments thus far achieved and the government's response to all their demands, the failure to bring the Nile drinking water to them is considered a problem that can bring diseases. Subhi Muslim Musallim, Shura Council member and National Party secretary in northern Sinai, says that work is under way to bring in drinking water in two phases: the first phase to al-Qantarah, 80 kilometers, and, the second phase, from al-Qantarah to al-'Arish, 150 kilometers to supply al-'Arish with 20,000 to 22,000 cubic meters of water daily. The present need is estimated at 13,000 cubic meters of water daily.

Al-'Arish people get their water from the Shaykh Zuwayd area for 5 piasters for every 20 liters of water which is brought in by truck by tourist facilities and other agencies.

The Shaykh Zuwayd and Rafah areas have fresh water wells which are good for drinking. Sa'id 'Abdallah, a nomad farmer, said he lives close to a fresh water well that has been filled in with earth, then redug. It supplies a large area and its water is carried to al-'Arish.

#### Water to irrigate Millions of Feddans

The average yield of one feddan of tomatoes is 40 to 50 tons, the highest productivity in Egypt, due to the land's fertility. The land is also good for growing peaches, grapes, almonds, olives--with one million date trees in Sinai--cantaloupes, watermelons, all kinds of vegetables, lentils and barley. The growing of these good varieties is hindered by a long drought, that has hit the central Sinai area, and the lack of irrigation water in northern Sinai.

Shura Council member Ibrahim al-Hafni says that irrigation water comes from three sources: 35 ground water wells, rain water and the Nile water. Work is underway to extend the al-Salam Canal 30 kilometers from Damietta to Ra's al-Tina in al-Qantarah north to irrigate the al-Tina Plain east of the Suez Canal, and to complete the al-Rawafi'ah Dam which will be raised, as irrigation minister Engr 'Isam Radi promised on his recent visit to Sinai. Furthermore, a dam is planned in al-Digah and there are numerous studies to build small dams for irrigation.

Hasan Abu Saqr Jazzar of Rafah, who cultivates 50 feddans of vegetables and fruits, says that all the land in Sinai is arable but the problem is that most of it depends on rain water for irrigation. Therefore, it could be cultivated two or three times a year if water was available and Egypt would not have to import any food.

Muhammad Yusuf 'Abid, local council member in Northern Sinai, says the lack of water in central Sinai is a critical problem and that studies confirm the possibility of cultivating millions of feddans in al-Hasanah, Nakhl and central Sinai areas if water is made available. This is a basic prerequisite for total growth.

#### Housing and the al-Masa'id Housing Project Problem

Visitors to Northern Sinai notice the spread of building projects, both by the public and private sectors, although some complain about the slow pace of construction. Everyone in Sinai talks about the al-Masa'id housing project. A large number of people there have receipts confirming their complaints about the monthly payments for the housing units. And, although People's Assembly members have raised this issue in parliament and the payments have been lowered from 76 to 62 pounds, some still find it a problem that may affect the other units with respect to supply and demand.

Kamal Shahhatah, a married driver living in his father's house, says "the private sector is building unfurnished units and renting them out as furnished for at least 50 pounds and, in many cases, 75 and 80 pounds a month. Who can pay these prices? We had our hopes set on cooperative housing, but were confronted with high prices."

Dr Muhammad Salih, a physician from al-'Arish, says: "How can my income allow me to make this monthly payment, and if it did, how can I furnish it? We in Sinai have endured much and are beginning from scratch."

Hamdan Nabhan, chairman of the local council's housing committee, says: "We have discussed this problem and the governorate donated the price of the land and the Ministry of Building and Construction paid 2 million pounds for filling the area, but this does not give the people a tangible result. The parliamentary group members met with the officials to find a solution, but we and all the people of Sinai are waiting for a more realistic solution."

Subhi Muslim says: "We were expecting the public sector rents to go down due to the 2,100 housing units that have been built in al-Masa'id, plus the 900 administrative housing units, but the opposite happened!"

#### Property Survey

The most important issue in the minds of the Sinai people is the matter of [land] ownership. Citizens can neither register nor sell their land, a situation that has prompted People's Assembly members to raise several questions in this regard.

People's Assembly member 'Isa Kharafin affirms that the ownership of every inch of Sinai land is known for everyone knows how many date trees and how many inches he owns. Therefore, the matter can be solved.

People's Assembly member Salim al-Yamani says: "I submitted a question to the minister of land reclamation concerning the reason for failing to conduct a property survey for the people of Sinai regarding their arable land which has been seized for dozens or rather hundreds of years. This is the issue of issues as far as the north Sinai people are concerned."

People's Assembly Mustafa Quwaydir says: "If this basic problem is not settled, we will be confronted with agencies selling the people's land and find ourselves in extremely complicated positions as officials, executives and common people."

Jalal Quwaydir, who owns a private sector hotel, says: "We are constructing buildings on land the ownership of which we may not be able to prove, although everyone knows it belongs to us. Also, we are cultivating land without knowing what will happen to it. The failure to survey these lands gives us a feeling of instability and hence, a hesitation to set up projects."

Local council member Majdi Halbanah says: "We have a shortage of medical specializations. We do not have a neurologist, an orthopedic doctor or an ophthalmologist. We have to go to Port Sa'id, Ismailia, Suez or Cairo. Why not give some benefits to doctors working in al-'Arish. Although we have visiting doctors, this is not a permanent arrangement." Muhammad Muhammad Salah (an intern) says: "The governorate should give us housing commensurate with our low salaries and must exempt the Sinai people from the selection process in higher education and certification in exchange for a 15-year practice in Sinai as a solution to this problem."

Dr Nasim Maksimus, director of health in Northern Sinai, says: "The severe shortage of doctors, nurses and pharmacists impedes health services. We have one surgeon for the entire governorate. The Bir 'Abd Hospital will nor have a pharmacist. The governorate's certified doctors do not stay and the nursing school does not have many students."

#### Air Ambulances An Urgent Need

Ever since 1979, the people of Sinai have been asking for sophisticated medical services such as the air ambulance. Local council member 'A'ishah Sulayman says: "We have been asking for this kind of service for many years because the governorate is vast and spread out. This is an urgent need which the health officials have promised to meet, but there is no sign of any action."

People's Assembly member Suhayr Jalbanah says: "There are cases that have to wait a long time before they can be taken to Cairo or Ismailia. We need this service. It is not for fun, it is an urgent need which we are still demanding."

Health director Dr Nasim Maksimus says it is a fair and urgent request because some casualties may die before reaching the hospital and this requires a medically-equipped airplane and a sophisticated radio communication network.

## The Governor Replies

We presented the people's demands to Northern Sinai governor, Munir Shash, and asked him everything about the comprehensive development plan Sinai will embark on this year.

Munir Shash said: "With regard to investments, the resolutions for Northern Sinai need to be reviewed and we will put them in force this year. The only investment opportunity is tourism which needs water. We have completed the substructure and shall start on overall development this year. Our present investments are in the form of loans, such as the al-Magharah coal mine and the cement factory. As far as water is concerned, we have pumping stations, but distribution is a very difficult proposition because they produce 1,600 cubic meters and the largest truck can only transport 8 cubic meters, so where are we going to get 200 trucks daily to carry water? However, in al-Masa'id suburb, the problem was solved by the installation of three water desalinization units that carry water to the homes. The al-Salam suburb has fresh water outlets between every two buildings. The problem will be completely solved within 2 years because water has been brought in to Bir 'Abd and will go from al-Qantarah to al-'Arish to complete the network.

## We Do Not Have A Housing Problem

Munir Shash says housing is no problem. People want administrative housing for one-fourth the salary and we resorted to that at the beginning, giving out units for a 15 percent payment, or 13 to 17 Egyptian pounds a month. Now, we have gone to cooperative housing with the 2,100 units in al-Masa'id, 500 of which have been given out at a low price. Because there is no down payment, the monthly payments are high for a 40-year mortgage at a 4 percent interest rate, so the interest has to go up. I proposed the payment of a down payment, but this was refused. We have 900 new units in which the people of al-'Arish have not shown an interest, so what more can we do? We are still talking to officials about this matter.

The matter of a property survey stopped being an issue with the issuance of the presidential decree concerning the survey of desert land. We asked the inhabitants to go to the committees to present documentation, deeds and final judgments, but they did not. The deadline has been extended twice, once to the end of last January and the second time, to the end of this April. The committee cannot decide on this until the deadline has passed, so where is the problem? Only those who cultivate and build the land can own it.

## Tourist Industry

Munir Shash says that there is a comprehensive plan to set up a true tourist trade at the end of next summer. What we have done this far is nothing but sedatives and quick solutions. We shall expand the tourist industry and the building of chalets in addition to a tourist and commercial promotional campaign which will begin with the opening of a-'Arish Port which will be connected to the Nuwaybi' Port.

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EGYPT

AL-AHRAM VIEWS JEWISH PROTESTS AT BITBURG

PM031024 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 2 May 85 p 16

[Anis Mansur "Situations" column]

[Text] World Jewry is angry with President Reagan because he will visit the tomb of the unknown soldier in Germany when he has been asked not to. Why? Because German soldiers killed hundreds of thousands of Jews but it is immaterial if they killed 10 million Russians, 5 million Europeans, and hundreds of thousand of Americans.

Those German soldiers, whether Nazis or communists, were patriots defending their country regardless of the political ideology embraced by their leaders.

But the predicament of the Jewish peoples is their deep sense of persecution because of the persecution and torture they suffered over the centuries, which reached its extreme during Hitler's era. The problem with the Jewish peoples is that they do not forget what has befallen them nor do they wish to forget. They are deepening the sense of guilt of the whole world. They do not tire or give up, until one day the world will become annoyed with them. In fact there are many among the Jews themselves who are annoyed by this constant reminding. The Jews now have a state of their own, and the Wailing Wall at which they weep is now in their state; the temple which was destroyed has been replaced by a better one. But they must weep because the Romans and Babylonians destroyed the temple and expelled the Jews some 26 centuries ago and the pharoos expelled them 31 centuries ago.

The Jewish peoples certainly prefer to keep the sense of suffering alive and to kindle the world's feeling of sympathy for them; they hate to see the world's people forget what happened to them. A world burdened with political and economic disasters and religious wars cannot be burdened also with the Jewish peoples' sufferings. For this reason the incessant weeping and wailing and the attempt by the Jews to impose their feelings on the whole world would only make the world hate them even more, be hostile to them, and attack them whenever there is an opportunity.

It is not unlikely that an attack will take place on President Reagan and that the assailant will be from the Armenian, Turkish, or Irish minority, but the motivator and the one that will pay for committing this act will be a Jewish organization, in which case the world's annoyance with and hate for them will increase.

CSO: 4500/107

EGYPT

# BANKING, CURRENCY DEALERS CASE JUDGMENT REVIEWED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 23 Apr 85 p 9

[Article by 'Atif Zaydan: "Sami Hasan Set Himself Up as An Unlicensed Bank and Embezzled 53 Million Pounds. Former Economy Minister and Wife Exceeded Established Line of Credit by 200,000 Pounds from al-Ahram Bank."]

[Text] The opinion in the investment banks and currency dealers case was announced yesterday. It was a 216-page opinion that began with a review of the indictment, after which a large portion was devoted to the testimony of witnesses and then dealt with the statement that was issued right after the judgment was announced. It also went into 10 recommendations, then dealt with the declaratory opinion part of the judgment and the financial positions of those affected by the receiving order.

The court said that the lines of credit obtained by Sami 'Ali Hasan and companies from the al-Ahram and the Jamal Trust banks were not preceded by credit studies. Bank officials should have conducted the necessary studies and should have asked for sufficient guarantees. Their aim was to realize a quick return which does not benefit the national economy, for the sake of which these banks were set up. The court added that this kind of conduct by officials was a gamble with the money of the banks and depositors. Sami stopped payments on the line of credit extended to him by al-Ahram and Jamal Trust banks in the amount of 53.120 million Egyptian pounds.

## Not An Act of National Heroism

The course said that Sami Hasan's dealings with the state banks and institutions which he supplied with free currencies do not constitute an act of national heroism on his part because he was looking after his own personal interests, selling foreign currencies to the government at black market prices. It also said that such dealings do not legitimize his actions.

The court furthermore said the contention that Sami's dealings with the banks through free accounts are not considered an offense under Law No 97 of 1976 is refuted by the fact that dealing in currency is restricted

to banks and that Sami set himself up as a bank without a license which is a criminal act under Articles 19 and 56 of Law No 103 of 1957, pertaining to banks and credit.

#### Before The Decision to Close The Accounts

The court said that Sami found in the banks an easy prey, so he embezzled their money in total disdain for banking rules and practices. The contention that attributes Sami's failure to meet his obligations to the banks to the 8 August 1983 decision pertaining to the closing of the currency dealers' accounts is refuted by the fact that the difficulties of the defendant began prior to this decision and that his failure compelled him to obtain deferred payment checks from the Jamal Bank to use as collateral for loans he obtained from other banks despite the fact that Central Bank instructions dictate that such checks must not be accepted as guarantees for lines of credit. However, the biased bankers ignored these instructions and kept on supplying Sami Hasan with bank money until his fortune swelled with illegal gains. The result was that he fell flat on his face and stopped payment because he who engaged in illegal practices can be sure that he will not be overlooked forever and that his day will certainly come.

#### 8 Million in Taxes

The court said that the contention that Sami has a file with the tax authorities is refuted by the case papers that show that the tax authorities are the ones who went after him to take stock of his activities following the press announcement that he was under investigation. The tax he owed was estimated at 8 million Egyptian pounds.

#### Hard Evidence

The court added that the members of the group of friends received commissions and gifts from Sami Hasan in return for granting him lines of credit and that the group's influence over al-Ahram Bank encouraged Bahjat Zaydan, Salamah Shahhatah and 'Adil Mansi, senior officials at the bank, to open the bank's coffers to Sami. In so doing, they provided hard evidence of their collusion with him, a charge brought against them in the arraignment decision. The court said that the owner of Jamal Trust, 'Ali Jamal, was aware of everything that was going on in his bank because he used to see the auditors' reports and to authorize the bank's budget and, therefore, cannot claim that the checks were granted to Sami Hasan behind his back.

The court said 'Ali Jamal's payment of the value of the checks to al-Ahram Bank, the Faysal Islamic Bank and the Arab-African Bank will not help him any because the harm is already done in the form of a loss of confidence in the bank papers and in interbank transactions, not to mention the confusion and chaos his refusal to pay up caused in the banking community for almost a full year.

## Barakah, Baradah and Currency Smuggling

The court said that 'Abd-al-Rahman Barakah and Ahsraf Baradah, accused of exporting foreign currency abroad from al-Ahram and al-Jamal Banks, were engaging in illegal activities because this is considered smuggling and that the decisions of the former economy minister issued on 5 January 1985, allowing the augmentation of the free accounts with foreign currency, regardless of the source, will not help because the more practicable precepts of the law contained in the penal code are not applied in the Values Court since they are limited to the criminal articles, while the jurisdiction of the Values Court has a special status and is not a criminal or civil one. The sequestration of properties of any person does not preclude his trial before the criminal courts if his action, for which he was brought to trial before the Values Court, included at the same time a crime punishable under the criminal law.

The court added that the fact that Barakah confined his dealings with the "Silvetti" office in Jordan renders his transactions personal, not for the benefit of the banks.

## The "Weak" of The Earth

The court said that those who were found innocent did not pose any danger because they were following the orders of their superiors. Furthermore, the director of al-Jamal Bank, Mahmud 'Id, testified that he was responsible for the issuance of the deferred-payment checks and the court did not see any danger posed by those "little" people because their implementation of their superiors' orders was done under moral and mental pressure from their superiors who represent the real danger. Moreover, Justice Husni 'Abd-al-Hamid, who represented the prosecution, described them as the "weak of the earth" and, therefore, their behavior cannot represent any danger.

## Sequestration Is Enough

The court said that Sami Hasan, in his recorded testimony, said that some relatives of the former economy minister dealt with him in trading foreign currencies at black market rates through their bank accounts. He also said that Mustafa Muhammad 'Ali, the partner of the minister's wife in al-Mustafayan Company, obtained a \$200,000 loan in return for two checks, and also received from him 150,000 Egyptian pounds with a letter of guarantee from the Egyptian-American Bank, and that the two checks bounced. Furthermore, the due date of the letter of guarantee was extended at the behest of Mustafa 'Ali in order to arrange a meeting between Sami and the former minister of economy. Sami added that he met with the former minister seven times in his office at the ministry, during which he was offered a job in the banking system which he turned down. He was then asked to reopen his accounts and these meetings resulted in the conclusion of a contract with the



Bank of Alexandria to export foreign currencies, and an account was opened. He also explained in his testimony that the former minister guaranteed some private companies owned by his relatives for their lines of credit from al-Ahram Bank.

The opinion also said that the proof furnished by the Socialist Prosecutor bears witness to instances of overdrawing on the lines of credit granted to some customers, including Mustafa Muhammad 'Ali, the partner of the minister's wife in the al-Mustafayan Trading Company, who exceeded his established line of credit by 144,000 Egyptian pounds, and former economy minister Mustafa al-Sa'id who exceeded his line of credit by 60,908 Egyptian pounds. The records of the Egyptian National Bank of 31 October 1984 also proved the existence of: a loan contract from the bank to Mustafa Muhammad 'Ali in the amount of one million Egyptian pounds guaranteed by his mother, Mrs Qadarat al-Sa'd, and his partner, Mrs 'Izzat Shalabi, the wife of the former minister of economy; another contract in the amount of 50,000 pounds signed by the same aforementioned debtor and guarantors; two contracts of indebtedness and two promissory notes in the amount of 300,000 and 180,000 Egyptian pounds signed by the same debtor; and an indebtedness contract and a promissory note in the amount of 800,000 pounds, signed by the same debtor and his mother.

A study of the al-Ahram Bank 22 January 1984 report on customer debts also revealed that Mustafa al-Sa'id and his wife guaranteed customer Nabil Ghali, owner of "Kiyub" Company for the sum of 15,000 pounds on 19 July 1982, al-Mustafayan Company for 36,472,000 pounds and the Ibrahim al-Sa'id Trading Office for 24,479,000 pounds. Isis Ghali owes 6,904 pounds out of a line of credit for 150,000 pounds she received on 31 December 1981, guaranteed by Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id and his wife.

#### Minister Orders Withdrawal of Deposits from al-Ahram Bank

The court said that Muhammad Jaballah, a defendant in the case, said in the investigations that former al-Ahram Bank director 'Abd-al-Rahman Barakah granted the former economy minister a line of credit from the bank in the amount of 15 million Egyptian pounds. He also gave Mustafa Muhammad 'Ali and the al-Mustafayan Company other lines of credit without guarantees and without the approval of the bank's credit authorities. He explained that right after the resignation of Barakah from the bank, the former minister issued directives to the public sector and the investment banks, including the Misr Bank, Alexandria Bank, the Delta Bank and the Abu Dhabi Bank, to withdraw their deposits from al-Ahram Bank.

## Dealing in Gold and Silver

The court explained the reasons for the receiving order against the properties of each of Kamal Mu'awwar, director of the National Bank, and 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Hulwani, the managing directory, by saying that they ignored Central Bank instructions banning dealings in precious metals due to the sharp fluctuations in their prices and, instead of liquidating their existing positions, they set up new ones after they received the instructions. In so doing, the bank's loss in 1983 swelled to 5.1 million pounds with regard to the transactions conducted for the bank. In addition, some customers were granted lines of credit to deal in these metals for their own benefit, in violation of Central Bank's instructions for the years 1979 through 1983 not to offer credit facilities to customers to finance the purchase of gold and silver.

## Financial Positions

The court exempted from receivership the furniture, personal effects, private-use cars, gold work and the life insurance policies of the defendants, plus a 491-meter piece of land in Mit al-Ghamr that was part of 'Abd-al-Rahman Barakah's financial position after the court was satisfied that it was sold in 1979. The court also exempted from Barakah's position, in addition to his household furniture and life insurance policy, a car that belonged to his brother, another car, the ownership of which was transferred in 1976, and a Toyota car that belonged to his wife. It also exempted his wife's jewelry.

## Group of Friends Interest

The court devoted a good part of its opinion to the group of friends, reviewing Sami Hasan's testimony in which he said that the aforementioned group used to place its personal interests above all other interests, including those of the national economy and that al-Ahram Bank was a family bank and the bank of the group that used to control all resolutions and lines of credit. It always used to be present at the bank, a matter that led to the issuance of resolutions without adequate study. The court also said that when Sami was brought face to face with each of Anwar al-Fakhrani, Muni al-Rafi'i, Muhammad Jaballah and Fakhri Salamah in the investigation of the allegation that he had obtained lines of credit without their knowledge and in collusion with the executive body composed of 'Adil Mansi, Salamah Shahhatah and Bahjat Zaydan, he denied all of that, confirming that all the credit he obtained was with their knowledge and approval and that they haggled with him over the commission before granting him any credit. About the business dealing between Sami and the group, the court said that Sami mentioned in his testimony that there were three transactions, totalling 3.675 million pounds, which were concluded in Barakah's office in September 1981. The second transaction was in the office of the bank's managing director, 'Adil Mansi, in May 1983 and they

bought \$5 million at below market price and the third, for \$5 million which he bought at the above the market price. These transactions were concluded through the account of Samir 'Abd-al-'Aziz who is a front for the group of friends. The purpose was to realize personal gains and to control the bank as well. There was also a fourth transaction undertaken by defendant number five, Munir al-Rafi'i who approached him in the summer of 1983 about a telephone deal with businessman Taha al-Ziyat for the sum of 28,000 pounds, but group member Munir asked him to write a check for 30,000 pounds on the basis that the difference was for commission. Sami Hasan added that, in view of 'Abd-al-Rahman Barakah's relationship with the minister of economy, the Central Bank allowed him to send fixed amounts out of the country, but the bank used to send out above the legal limit by manipulating the figures.

#### Reply to Invalidity of The Investigations

The court said that the rebuttal of attorney Dr al-Shirqawi, concerning the invalidity of the socialist prosecutor's investigations with the defendant, is refuted by the fact that the incident on which the rebuttal was based--that the attorney was not allowed to be present with his client--did not rest on any evidence. Furthermore, the public prosecutor has the right to conduct investigations in the absence of litigants. As for the rebuttal of Sha'ban al-Hulwani, attorney for the Lord Company, on grounds that the suit was not legal on the basis that the elections and referendums that were conducted were invalid and therefore the appointment of the senior officials, including the public prosecutor, was therefore null and void is refuted by the fact that this is an irrevelant allegation for no one has alleged the invalidity of these elections and referendums. Besides, the public prosecutor, who brought the law suit, is assigned the constitutional responsibility--Article 11 of the constitution--of taking measures that guarantee the rights of the people and the safety of society.

The judgment was handed down on 30 March under the chairmanship of Justice Hasan 'Uthman 'Ammar, the secretariatship of 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Umar, 'Abd-al-Rahman Sha'ban and Muhammad Najib with the attendance of Justice Husni 'Abd-al-Hamid, assistant socialist prosecutor.

12502

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30 May 1985

EGYPT

## NILE, LAKE NASIR LEVELS SEEN DANGEROUSLY LOW

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 4 May 85 p 34

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Tawwab: "Drought Wave Interactions. Re-examination of All Uses of Nile Water"]

[Text] Egyptian and Sudanese irrigation experts at many locations along the Nile sources have begun watching the water level after the water rate reached its lowest level since 1913. The water level in Lake Nasir has dropped to 55 meters, a sure indication that the drought wave is creeping toward the north. Not only will this threaten the rates of Egyptian agricultural production, but will also influence the ability to generate power at the High Dam station as a result of the drop in the water drainage rate.

If the drop is sustained during the current spring season--the rainy season in Ethiopia--Egyptian and Sudanese experts will have to re-examine the distribution of the river's water yield and the rationalization of the irrigation water in the two countries.

Arab irrigation and agricultural experts met in Khartum a few years ago to study Arab food security needs. A meeting of the Arab irrigation and agricultural experts is scheduled to be held in an African-Arab capital to discuss the irrigation water situation in the Arab homeland and to rationalize the consumption water used for irrigation.

The world has about 2,400 kilometers of water, but 97 percent of this huge amount is salty water, found in oceans, seas and lakes, which comprises the world's strategic reserves, while the world's total supply of fresh water is no more than 3 percent. [Of this 3 percent] 75 percent is icy water at the two poles, 24 percent is ground water and the remaining one percent is once again distributed as follows: 0.3 percent in fresh water lakes, 0.6 percent in the form of ground moisture and 0.3 percent fluvial water. In other words, the fluvial water in the entire universe represents three thousandths of the fresh water sources.

The distribution of this vital and limited amount of the world's water is controlled by a vital cycle subject to changing and intertwining atmosphere, natural and botanical elements. The drought of the lean years still afflicting Africa to this day is due to this disturbance that has hit the vital balance in

the form of a botanical cover recession as a result of uprooting large forest areas, the desert encroaching upon the valleys and rivers and the uneconomical consumption of water for industrial purposes, beside climatic changes due to air pollution. The drought wave has begun to creep toward the African north and the scientific agencies in Egypt, Sudan and the rest of the Arab countries are getting ready to face the probabilities of the lean years of drought.

It is well known that 75 percent of the Arab world is desert and the rest of the area, the Arab Maghreb in particular, tends to be desert-like because of drought, the uprooting of forests and the botanical cover. The relationship between the land and the water not only represents the difference between life and death or barrenness and greenness, but is also a relationship of vital security for the earth and mankind.

The first complete study by Arab experts and scientists about Arab food security and water reserves confirms that the amount of water available in the Arab homeland is about 151 billion cubic meters per year, of which about 12 billion cubic meters are ground water, in addition to the unconventional sources of water such as: the recycling of sewage water, estimated at 4.5 billion cubic meters; the desalinization of sea water, estimated at 140 million cubic meters; and the tendency to use Arab water resources mainly for agriculture that uses up about 83 percent, with 11.5 percent consumed for industry and 5.5 percent for domestic use.

Arab experts expect the Arab sources of water to double with the dawn of the first decade of the next century, to hit the 227.7 billion level, including 202 billion of which will come from the surface water from rivers and rain, 25.7 billion from ground water and 12.4 billion from other unconventional water sources.

Arab water resources are distributed over the Arab countries as follows: Egypt gets an average of about 69.6 billion cubic meters of surface water per year; Iraq gets 67.7 billion cubic meters yearly; and Syria gets 32 billion, while some other countries, such as Kuwait and Qatar, do not have surface water, and others, such as Saudi Arabia (0.2 billion cubic meters of rain water), the UAE (0.2 billion cubic meters) and South Yemen (0.75 billion) suffer from a water shortage. Tunis gets 5.5 billion, Algeria, 6 billion and Morocco, 2 billion.

However, it is not important how much water each Arab country has, but rather how each drop of water is used. Water is no longer a free commodity to be spent at will, but has become like gold and oil, there has to be economic rules to rationalize its consumption, to manage its reservoirs and to control its expenditures within the boundaries of available resources and in keeping with the changing world around us.

It seems that the points of conflict are no longer concentrated around the oil fields in the Gulf or in Iran or in Latin America, but are also concentrated around the river sources and the ground water reservoirs. The world is tending toward the regulation of ground water reservoir exploitation along the borders so that no country will infringe upon the share of another country by draining large amounts of water from the wells of another country on the other side of the border, such as is happening with regard to the distribution of river water resources.

EGYPT

# SCATHING CRITICISM OF THOSE LOOKING TO THE PAST

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 20 Apr 85 p 16

[Editorial by Mustafa Amin: "An Idea"]

[Text] Those who want to take us backward in time, what do they want? Do they want a repeat of the destructive crushing 5 June defeat? Or do they want to bring back the weapons and brutal means of torture? Do they want to seize the properties of Egyptians in the same manner as the royal family's properties were seized, then looted, plundered and taken to homes in official vehicles? Or do they want to see a return of the detention camps, prisons and dawn visitors when citizens used to be frightened every time they heard a knock on the door? Do they want imaginary projects, fancied reforms and ministers like Abu Lam'ah? Or do they want the sequestration that steals the properties of the sequestered to line the pockets of the sequestrators? Or do they want the reign of terror in which the ruler turns into a pharaoh: one word out of his mouth can mean life and one motion by his hand can mean death? Do you long for an age in which we all lived in terror, looking all around us in fear, before opening our mouths and closing our ears so as not to hear a timid joke about the omnipotence of the idol? Everyone of us was threatened in his life, his freedom, his home and his work. The ruler was free to do to you anything he pleased without answering or accounting to anyone. He tyrannized and was called "most just"; he oppressed the people and was reassured that he was the angel of mercy who came down to us from heaven carrying a whip! Or do you want to go back to an age when the judiciary was on leave, the law was on leave and humanity was on extended leave. When a fired employee had no recourse for his grievance and courts were forbidden to look into people's grievances against the state because the state was above the law; force was above right; and the constitution was trodden under. The day when the Council of State was totally inoperative and out of commission. When the work of the people was confined to processions filling the streets and squares cheering for the defeat, applauding disgrace and dancing in admiration for the hypocrite's sentence to execute the innocent?

Do they want to return to a time when allegiance was more important than genius and ingenuity, and kinship and lineage more important than a doctorate degree? When knowledge was a crime and ignorance a bliss of pride!

Those who want this are remnants of a crushed minority that used to live in glory while the overwhelming majority lived in hell. They were wallowing in government money while the people were writhing in hell. All the people were seared, terrified and worried and only the city robbers were safe. The time when all crimes were forgiven save for one crime only, the crime of idolizing the authoritarian ruler.

Those who are used to worshipping the ruler cannot worship God. Those who are used to living in darkness cannot bear to live in light. And those who trampled on the law and the constitution cannot stand the sovereignty of the law.

Those who got used to looking upon the people as prisoners they captured when they invaded and took over the country refuse to equate themselves with the rest of the people who have no influence or powers! This is the only way for darkness to become the absolute ruler.

If you long for these years, go by yourself and let this good and faithful people go on the road it has chosen for itself, walking with its head held high and bowing to no one.

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EGYPT

## POOR PLANNING FOR GOVERNMENT PROJECTS CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 16 Apr 85 p 3

[Editorial by Jalal-al-Din al-Hamamsi: "Smoke in the Air; The Bleeding Goes On and No One is Held Responsible"]

[Text] Every now and then some sensitive questions about millions of Egyptian pounds and dollars being spend haphazardly on ill-planned projects are raised in People's Assembly sessions. And when heavy losses are unveiled, the government rushes to boast that it put things in order, stopped the losses and cancelled the projects.

Have you heard about the high seas fleet, the one that was supposed to invade the far seas and return to us with fish that would inundate the markets and achieve food security?

Surely you have heard about it, for such projects usually receive the biggest possible publicity in the press and on radio and TV until it becomes clear to the people that the prices of fish are continuing to rise. When they ask about the high seas fleet, they are told that the project was carried out without serious study and, therefore, was stopped, but only after costing the government close to 30 million Egyptian pounds!

And have you heard about the fish resources that can be discovered in Egyptian lakes? And about Chinese and U.S. participation with millions of dollars to increase this fish resource by modern scientific means?

Surely you have for it is by such projects that the mass media are nurtured with yet another new food security song. Nonetheless, the prices of fish kept rising. It was later discovered that other government parties set out to drain some or part of these lakes with a view to putting up a low-income housing project--and how often mistakes are attributed to something called low-income people--only to find out that the lake beds were too soft for building housing. So the money coming to us from the outside was lost and so was the money taken out of the people's budget to drain the lakes. On top of that, time was also lost and with it the hope to augment the fish resource.



he cut down the loss from the high seas fleet project by stopping work on it and the lake drainage project as well, two matters that compelled the People's Assembly to issue a resolution thanking the minister.

God be praised! What about the responsibility of those who caused these losses, spending millions on the seas or the drained lakes? Why do we hold a low-ranking employee responsible for not collecting a few plasters or for intentionally excusing a citizen at the expense of that state and do not question the bigwigs who have a free hand in squandering the people's money and wasting millions of pounds of foreign financial aid coming in in the form of assistance or loans? Is it enough to add to the other committees another investigation committee to begin its work after the disaster occurs?

The high seas fleet tragedy and the lake drainage comedy are but a drop in the ocean of negligence and a drop of financial bleeding we have been unable thus far to stop. Nonetheless, we do not consider such negligence a serious digression worthy of questioning and examination or of bringing the regime's ministers to trial for the mistakes they have committed.

If I were a member of the People's Assembly, I would have told the members to stop talking about these digressions so long as their final decision was to issue a resolution thanking the competent minister.

12502

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EGYPT

# OFFICIALS CONCERNED OVER WATER SHORTAGE

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 26 Apr 85 p 62

[Text] The military coup in Sudan has reopened the file on Egyptian water sources and its share of the Nile River, but there has been little at the official level.

Informed circles in Cairo assert that Butrus Ghali, Egyptian deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Dr Usamah al-Baz, Egyptian presidential advisor have expressed the fear that Egypt will suffer the worst water crisis since 1913.

On the other hand, the ministries of agriculture and irrigation have not voiced any such fear, although they are the ministries directly concerned with any Egyptian water shortage. Indeed, they displayed the opposite attitude on the occasion of the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the building of the High Dam in Aswan when Egyptian officials were desirous of receiving praise for the dams' saving Egypt from the danger of drought and famine.

Nevertheless, Egyptian officials are paying close attention to the possibility of Egypt's having to confront a long-term water crisis if the drought in Africa continues a few more years. This possibility led Egyptian officials to consider requesting the United States for more financial aid as a precaution against a continuation of the drought on the African continent.

Domestically, the Egyptian authorities have taken limited measures to save water such as banning lighting at weddings and ending television programs on Egyptian stations an hour earlier than scheduled.

As for Washington, Congress has thus far not shown particular concern over the possible danger of Africa's famine spreading to Egypt. However, the Sudanese coup may lead to an American review of the situation. This is what Egypt is hoping will happen.

5214  
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EGYPT

## FOREIGN EXPERTS' CONTRIBUTIONS NOT ADEQUATELY RECOGNIZED

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 13 Apr 85 p 16

[Article by Anis Mansur]

[Text] It is a fact that we are using foreign experience and foreign money in all our large projects. That is to say, there are people with more experience and more money than we have, and we need all of that.

However, we do not remember any of them with gratitude. This is a serious defect of ours. There are glaring examples of that.

But this defect does not apply only to our view of foreigners. It applies to us as well. Nobody feels grateful to anybody--son to father, young to old, generation to generation. On the day celebrating the laying of the cornerstone of the opera house, everyone spoke except the Japanese experts who paid for the project and those who designed it and those who will carry it out. That was a decent thing for the Japanese to have done. They are the most decent of people and at the same time they belong to the large and splendid club of those who help the third world economically without receiving any appreciation for it.

The day the subway opened there appeared on television all kinds of people--tall and wide and loud and coarse of voice--except the French experts who designed this enormous project and are financing and carrying it out. It was not seemly for them to compete with the Egyptians in the speeches on the screen.

It has become customary whenever we see a huge new project to search for fair-complexioned faces among the experts, for the real doer, and cast him into the shadow. Most the noisiest people are closest to the camera and the microphone.

Then there was the day when the iron and steel furnaces were started up in Hulwan. This was a Soviet project from beginning to end. I still remember and was astonished when it occurred. All the officials and all the administrative and trade union personnel were present. They crowded together and applauded the greatness of the Egyptian worker and the Egyptian achievement and the Egyptian desire to dissolve the differences between iron and ice [as published]. Were those with white faces Soviets?

We learned later that those with white faces were Egyptians, thereby concealing the signs of a crime. There are foreign experts who carried out, and are still carrying out, our most wonderful projects which we are sure are one hundred percent Egyptian!

5214

CSO: 4504/307

EGYPT

BRIEFS

AL-AHALI EDITOR CONVICTED OF SLANDER--The 'Abdin Misdemeanor Court, headed by Judge Salah Amin, handed down a one-month prison sentence against Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq, AL-AHALI editor-in-chief, ordering him, along with Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, to pay temporary reparation to Justice Samir Labib of the government affairs department. This sentence was handed down in the misdemeanor suit Justice Samir Labib filed against AL-AHALI which had published a false news item about an alleged sentence issued against a cabinet minister, holding the justice responsible for the issuance of this sentence due to his negligence. Justice Samir Labib, in his suit, asked that what was published be considered public defamation and slander because it was false. [Text] [Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 19 Apr 85 p 1] 12502

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LIBYA

BACKGROUND ON POSTPONEMENT OF AAPSO CONFERENCE

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 30 Mar 85 pp 8-10

[Article: "The Story of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) With the Libyan Command"]

[Text] Libya Violated the Organization's Constitution so the Benghazi Meeting Was Not Held;  
PLO Won Solidarity of All Against Libyan Blackmail

"Excuse me, how much time does it take for the trip to Benghazi?"  
"Just over an hour."

This short conversation took place between Yusuf, who was sitting beside me, and the air hostess, who offered him a piece of candy on the Libyan Arab Airlines flight, while he still had in his left hand a small bouquet of red and white carnations, which he, like all the others, received to welcome and honor the delegations of the AAPSO on the way to Benghazi on Sunday evening, 24 March, 1985.

Then we began to wait for the plane to take off. Most were intent on completing the last leg of a multi-stage trip to Libya's eastern capital. Some were coming from Moscow or beyond, or through Rome and Athens. Then there were those from Central Africa and East Asia. But there were also some from Tunisia, Algeria, and Egypt, countries on the western and eastern borders of Libya. All had come to Larnaca, the gateway to Benghazi.

Actually, no sooner had one sat down aboard the plane than he became aware that difficulties of the trip were behind him and that the end of the journey was near.

I was absorbed in the green-colored university student newspaper, when the Arab music coming through the aircraft's sound system stopped, and I expected to hear an excuse about a delay in departure or at least a hope that it would not be much longer. But the speaker made an announcement in English mixed with poor Arabic: "The following persons are requested to report to the Cypriot passport section in the airport building"--five names, a short silence, confusion, then the rest of the names of the Palestinian delegation.

It became clear that something was wrong and that the problem pertained to the Libyan authorities, not the Cypriot passport section.

#### Negotiations on the Telephone

Two persons from our delegation left the aircraft, and three followed them, including the secretary general of AAPSO, Mr Nuri 'Abd-al-Razzaq, and Dr Vassos Lyssarides, vice-president of the organization, chairman of the Cypriot Socialist Party, and head of his country's delegation to the leadership meeting of AAPSO.

In the VIP lounge at the Larnaca airport there immediately began talks on the telephone with the secretary of the Libyan peoples liaison office in Nicosia, Salim al-Shuwayhadi, who said he had received an urgent message from the Libyan capital, Tripoli, decreeing that the Palestine Liberation Organization's delegation to AAPSO would not be permitted to go to Benghazi to participate in the leadership meeting of the international organization.

Dr Vassos Lyssarides, who was talking to the Libyan ambassador, expressed his astonishment and summarized his response by saying: "This is absurd, this decision will wreck the meeting completely."

Then the telephone receiver was extended to Mr Nuri 'Abd-al-Razzaq, secretary general of AAPSO, for him to talk to al-Shuwayhadi: "This is impossible... and is a violation of our agreement with Tripoli... I was in direct contact with them... I was in contact with them four or five times today, until everything was agreed to... I have records to that effect... no, no, all the arrangements were made with Benghazi and Tripoli, and I have the telex we sent to them, with the names of the participating delegations, following the last meeting of the secretariat in Cairo... we cannot leave without the delegation of the Liberation Organization because this would violate the constitution of the Solidarity Organization... contact Tripoli... I am telling you that the arrangements were made in advance... and we cannot leave without the Palestinian delegation...."

This was the beginning of the negotiations between the permanent secretariat and vice-presidents of AAPSO and the Libyan authorities to get Tripoli to withdraw its decision and permit the Palestinian delegation to attend the 13th leadership meeting scheduled for Benghazi from 25 to 29 March.

#### Everyone Disembarked

The delegations that were still aboard the aircraft expressed their solidarity with the Palestinian delegation and the necessity of its taking part in the meeting as a full-fledged member of the leadership council of AAPSO.

It quickly became clear that the situation was very complicated and that settling it would require a great deal of time, so everyone left the plane and went to the VIP lounge, where there was a hasty meeting of members of the permanent secretariat and the vice-presidents, with the delegates present. A decision was made, unanimously, at this meeting to refuse to go to Benghazi unless the Libyan authorities withdrew their decision, but to carry out extensive talks and negotiations to solve the difficulties on the following basis:

- 1 - It is the right of all members of AAPSO to participate in the activities and meetings of the organization, which alone, in general session, has the right to grant membership or withdraw it.
- 2 - The Libyan action, which is aimed at preventing the PLO from taking part in the Benghazi meeting, is a violation of the AAPSO constitution and is direct interference in its internal affairs. It also violates international customs and traditions. The host country is just that, and has no authority to interfere in the workings of the meeting.
- 3 - Yielding to Libyan pressure would impose a double threat, to the legitimacy of the international PLO on one hand, and to the independence of the Solidarity Organization on the other.

Consequently Libya was putting AAPSO in a difficult position: whether to abandon the PLO delegation and violate the AAPSO constitution or to cancel the scheduled meeting.

Also the secretariat saw to it that the Libyans' new suggestion, that the delegations leave without the Palestinian delegation, failed. Contacts concerning a solution to the difficulties connected with this continued the next morning.

#### Return to Transit

At that time the office of the Libyan airlines, at the airport, informed the delegations that it had instructions to have the aircraft leave immediately with those who wanted to go to Benghazi, and that the luggage of those who did not want to do so was to be unloaded. So all the delegations were requested to unload their luggage.

Then everyone returned to the transit area to rest and get some soft drinks and sandwiches and to await the outcome of the negotiations, which were evidently tedious and difficult.

The delegates were beginning to show signs of fatigue and exhaustion. Most were in need of medicines for heart ailments and rheumatism as well as pain medication and stimulants that were in their luggage. The biggest part of the delegates belong to the generation of old fighters.



But the luggage had not yet arrived. Some were saying that the delay was deliberate and was aimed at prolonging the duration of the negotiations, which the Libyan side was constantly demanding extended delays in order to make many, many contacts with the western Tripoli.

Voices were raised requesting departure from the airport and return to the hotels. The time was past midnight and there was not yet any positive indication on the horizon.

"Let's leave here even without our baggage. We can wait no longer."

But the Cypriot security officer politely declined: "I am sorry, you cannot leave this area unless it is with the approval of the Libyan airlines office."

"Why don't you contact them?"

"We've been trying to for hours, but the director of the office is not there... they are not at the aircraft nor are they at their office... we don't know where they are."

(Actually, we members of the delegations had not been to the bathroom for about 4 hours, and this was after they gathered around us and began trying to outdo one another in assisting us.)

"I believe they have instructions to disappear, and the ambassador is the only one that talks to members of the secretariat by telephone from Nicosia."

#### Your Connection Is With the Libyan Airlines

Someone got angry and directed a dry question at the Cypriot security officer: "Are we being detained here like hostages, just like our luggage?"

The officer replied: "I'm sorry, but according to international law we cannot let you pass without the agreement of the Libyan Airlines Office. You and your luggage are now the responsibility of the Libyan Airlines."

Negotiations with the Libyan authorities continued, as well as with airport officials, on how to secure the departure of the delegates to spend what was left of the night at hotels in Larnaca. Someone came up and said that Cyprus [Air] Lines had, at the expense of Libyan [Air] Lines, reserved 130 beds at the Beau Rivage Hotel for the delegations.

But the hospitality, this time, was refused. If the Libyans wanted to treat us with respect then let them permit us all to get on the plane and take off immediately for Benghazi; otherwise we would decline their hospitality and let AAPSO bear the expense of our stay.

New arrangements were made, at the expense of AAPSO, for the Lourdos Beach and Sandy Beach hotels. It did not take long for the buses to arrive to take us to the hotels.

Everything was ready except for Libyan authorization.

Another development. A little before midnight the message conveyed to the AAPSO secretariat by the Libyan ambassador contained no indication that the Tripoli authorities opposed the departure of everyone, including the Palestinian delegation, for Benghazi if its head, brother Yahya Habash (Sakhr), Zakariyah 'Abd-al-Rahim (Abu Yahya), Yusif Rajab, Jamal Muhaysin, and 'Abd-al-Qadir Abu Rayya were excluded!!?

In effect there was nothing new in the Libyan position and the ambassador was told that the proposal was rejected.

Suddenly Dr Lyssarides came to say that there were new developments and that the negotiations may result in a solution to the difficulties within an hour, that is, about 2 am, and he asked everyone to standby.

Then someone came up saying that an important, positive message had been received from Tripoli, but it was encrypted and its decryption would require some time.

Members in Benghazi

Meanwhile Mr Nuri 'Abd-al-Razzaq had managed to contact 'Abd-al-Wahab al-Zantani, vice-president of AAPSO, in Benghazi and confer with him on the matter.

A long time had elapsed and the negotiations with the Libyans by members of the secretariat, in Nicosia and Benghazi, had achieved nothing.

Tripoli insisted that the Palestinian delegation, "that attended the Amman conference," not be permitted to come to Libyan soil. Note that two of the five members excluded by the latest message, Jamal Muhaysin and 'Abd-al-Qadir Abu Rayya, participated in the Arab Teachers Union conference from 11 to 20 March as members of the PLO delegation. In other words, they had left Libya only 4 days before!

The only result of negotiations with the Libyans was permission for the delegates to leave the airport and go to the hotels, a little before 2:30 am, but without their luggage. The Lourdos Beach hotel became the new center from which the negotiations were conducted.

The contacts continued throughout the night and the following morning and were interspersed with continual meetings of the secretariat and vice-presidents in order to follow developments step by step.

## Parleys... and Directives

The Palestinian delegation, which had had its own continual parleys and contacts with the command in Tunisia, affirmed the PLO's desire for the unity and cohesiveness of AAPSO and asked the Secretariat of the solidarity organization to follow up on all possibilities guaranteeing participation of the international organization and the success of the scheduled meeting. The delegation also affirmed the desire for the PLO to have enough opportunity to deal with the matter, but at the same time the delegation affirmed the PLO's insistence on its right to take part in the AAPSO meeting wherever it is held.

Up to noon Monday, 25 March, what had been announced officially in Benghazi was that the delay in arrival of the delegations from Larnaca was because of a technical problem on the aircraft.

The seriousness of the situation compelled some to suggest a compromise that would give priority to holding the meeting by persuading the PLO to remain absent, this time only, because of local considerations, without this constituting an abridgement of its right to membership and without it constituting a threat to its international legitimacy.

But this idea met with strong opposition by those assembled, who felt that cancellation of the Benghazi meeting was the lesser danger to the solidarity organization, from the standpoint of setting a precedent for direct interference in the internal affairs of the organization and compelling it to violate clauses of its constitution, especially since there were no valid guarantees that there would be no pressure on AAPSO to have an alternate liberation organization participate, in rare circumstances, from the Syrian delegation, for instance, or on the sidelines of the conference.

Up to this time the negotiations had proceeded with considerable difficulty, until it actually became clear that there was absolutely no room for a Libyan retreat in front of the resolute decision by the AAPSO secretariat not to go without the PLO delegation. That was when an announcement was made in Damascus about forming the National Palestinian Salvation Front. So the Libyan objective in refusing to receive the Palestinian delegation became completely clear.

The positions of the two delegations; the Egyptian, headed by Mr Ahmad Hamrush; and the Algerian, headed by Mr Zubayr Sayf al-Islam; were outstanding in their staunch defense of Palestinian rights and of AAPSO.

## Two Distinguished Calls

In the evening the AAPSO secretariat received two distinguished phone calls from 'Abd-al-'Ati al-'Ubaydi, the Libyan secretary general of foreign relations, and Muhammad Hijazi, the official in charge of the revolutionary committees in the Jamahiriyah.

At the expanded meeting at 9 pm, convened by the members of the permanent secretariat and vice-presidents, and attended by the heads of delegations, a final decision was made to cancel the Benghazi meeting because of the intransigence of the Libyan position, which would require an obvious violation of the AAPSO constitution. Dr Mahdi Hafiz was asked to convey the decision to secretariat members already in Benghazi.

"Gentleman, please listen to this final decision... after a meeting, the proceedings of which are recorded in the minutes... I state that it is a final decision, and I have no right to discuss it, I am only authorized to convey it to you... no, I am not recording any comments here... so our decision is final."

Then everything was over. It was stipulated that the conference be cancelled. The Libyan ambassador was asked to make serious efforts to have the luggage unloaded, since there was no longer any justification for having it on the aircraft.

But the luggage was not produced.

A last meeting was held at noon on Tuesday at which the official wording of the decision cancelling the leadership council meeting was agreed upon and was distributed in written form to the delegations.

The conferees also discussed the new verbal invitation to the delegations to attend the Libyan Evacuation Day celebrations, which will fall on 28 March. But the overall opinion was to request Tripoli to send a written invitation as is customary.

The invitation has not come.

Then the Libyan authorities cancelled it because of "cancellation of the celebrations" of Evacuation Day!!?

As for Palestine, it received genuine solidarity, and AAPSO learned how to safeguard its independence... independence that accompanied the national Palestinian freedom of decision.

That is the true significance of AAPSO.

The actual meeting in Larnaca was held under one slogan: Solidarity with Palestine is Solidarity with AAPSO.

At that time, Tuesday, 26 Mar, finally, the luggage and gear of the delegations arrived.

I remembered the bouquet of flowers that I left on the plane, the piece of candy in my pocket, and the university newspaper.

The special aircraft, which belongs to the Libyan Airlines, left, after waiting 48 hours.

No doubt its crew knows that the return trip takes "just over an hour."

[Inset]

#### AAPSO Report on Postponement of the Meeting

At the invitation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya the 13th meeting of AAPSO was scheduled to be held in Benghazi between 25 and 29 March, 1985.

Because of a development contrary to the wishes of AAPSO pertaining to participation of all members of the leadership council.

In a joint meeting of the permanent secretariat and the vice-presidents of AAPSO, the participants unanimously decided to postpone the leadership meeting, to be held at a more suitable time so that all participating parties can definitely take part in it.

Israeli aggression against the Arab countries on 6 June, 1967 weakened AAPSO and caused postponement of its 5th meeting until 1972, when it was held in Cairo.

Libyan blackmail caused cancellation of the 13th leadership meeting, which was scheduled for Benghazi from 25 to 29 March, 1985.

Were it not for the fact of the agreement of the delegations on solidarity with Palestine, the Libyan position would have severely threatened AAPSO, perhaps forever.

Thanks to the delegations that stuck with Palestine, and thanks to Palestine, which created the solidarity, protecting AAPSO.

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CSO: 4504/287

SUDAN

ANSAR LEADER, AL-SADIQ AL-MAHDI INTERVIEWED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 30 Apr 85 pp 11, 12

[Interview with al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, leader of Ansar Movement and Ummah Party:  
"Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi Tells AL-MAJALLAH, 'We contacted the Armed Forces 1 Week  
before the Coup';" date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] "The most important reason for the coup was to break  
the Muslim Brothers' exclusive hold over the student movement."

"Numayri did not trust Siwar-al-Dhahab, but he needed someone  
to blame!"

[Question] On Friday, 24 hours before the coup, you delivered a sermon in the  
mosque and you asked the armed forces to seize power and join the popular move-  
ment. You were arrested that night, and in the morning what happened did. It is  
being said that until then a calm approach or silence was your method of oppo-  
sition and the Ummah Party's method of opposition as well. What role did  
al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, leader of Ansar Movement and Ummah Party play in what  
happened, particularly since you were the first to congratulate Gen  
Siwar-al-Dhahab only hours after the coup? What was it that assured you that  
this movement was not an extension of Numayri's regime?

[Answer] This is a legitimate question. Numayri's regime has been considered an  
intruder in Sudan from the very beginning. Therefore, opposition to it began,  
and that opposition assumed various forms. Sometimes it was popular, and some-  
times it was armed. This means that we formed our armed organization, and we  
tried to overthrow the regime. At some point the regime realized that it was a  
mistake to deal with us as though we were an anachronism. So between 1977 and  
1979 the regime suggested national reconciliation, which we tried to use to  
bring about by means of the ballot box the end of the May Revolution. Numayri  
went along with all the stages of that reconciliation process, but in the end he  
reneged on that plan. Although the Ansar Movement had failed at that stage to  
bring an end to the May Revolution by means of the ballot box, it did achieve  
three principal things. First, it created a certain climate. Second, it gave us  
an opportunity to clear up the misunderstanding that developed between us and  
the Sudanese armed forces after 1976. That period of time gave us an opportunity  
to say that we were not opposed to the army but rather to Numayri's regime. That  
situation created some kind of understanding between us and the armed forces.

[Question] As a political party you penetrated the armed forces, didn't you?

[Answer] I would not call it penetration. But we did redeem ourselves with them since Numayri's propaganda after 1976 had tried to portray us as enemies of the army. We used to say that the reconciliation did succeed at least in effecting a reconciliation between us and the armed forces. I believe that that was an accomplishment. The third point is that we returned to the country, and we began taking action. Our presence outside the country was one of our past weaknesses. After all these things happened, we thought that what could transpire is that free professional association or student groups would take action against the regime, and the people would rally around them. We thought that would cause a general strike. If all this happened, the armed forces would then be asked to stand beside the people. We knew that all Numayri's attempts to politicize the armed forces had failed.

[Question] If that sequence of events has been set forth since 1977, why did you wait till 1985 when you know, as you said in a past interview, that Numayri's regime was likely to fall at any moment?

[Answer] We were trying all the time. The 15th of Rajab was not the first time that action was taken on the basis of that script. An attempt was made in 1981 when judges went on strike. We believed that expanding the strike would allow us to carry out the coup according to that sequence of events. And after the events of February 1982 we expected the coup to happen, but it did not. That sequence of events has always been pending, but we failed throughout these years to bring it to its logical conclusion. Recently, additional factors helped resolve the situation.

1. The state of economic failure was broadened.
2. The so-called Islamic experiment yielded negative results.
3. The regime's capabilities were challenged and seriously damaged by the Resistance Movement in the south. In addition, several political mistakes were made.

Recently, breaking the Muslim Brothers' exclusive hold over student movements became one of the more important reasons for the coup. It is known that students have been spearheading the process of bringing about change. But the Muslim Brothers decided to back the regime regardless of conditions during that period. They may have believed that their growth under Numayri's regime prepared them for succeeding him in power.

[Question] Dr al-Turabi is saying that he joined the regime in an attempt to reform it. He is saying that Numayri started fighting him when he felt that he [that is, Dr al-Turabi] could stand up to him. Dr al-Turabi is also saying that he has been barred from politics since the Islamic Law Conference.

[Answer] The truth is that Numayri took action against them knowing that their organization was an organization of top men who did not have the backing of the people; it was an organization that lacked the capability to make anything happen.

[Question] How can the Muslim Brothers' Organization not have the backing of

the people when it was able to assemble thousands and thousands of people in the first demonstration that was held days ago?

[Answer] That was almost all of them.

[Question] Mr Sadiq, if we were to look around us in the Arab world, we would find that the Muslim Brothers' movement is the fastest growing movement. According to information available to me, the Muslim Brothers' movement in Sudan is widespread, and its popular bases are broad. It is also well financed, well organized and probably also well armed.

[Answer] I am telling you what I think. The Muslim Brothers' organizations in the Arab world differ from the organization they have in Sudan. Numayri did not take them seriously, and he knew that he could guarantee their support for a very small price.

But Numayri took action against them to please westerners, who were disturbed by this rapprochement between him and them. Numayri also acted against the Muslim Brothers to please his friends outside Sudan, particularly after the Islamic experiment in Sudan embarrassed many Islamic countries, including Egypt. I think that Numayri took such tumultuous action against them so he could use them as a scapegoat. He said they were responsible for past strikes, those that took place before the month of Rajab, and that is not true. They were opposed to the strikes.

[Question] Let's go back to the previous question. How did you become satisfied that Siwar-al-Dhahab's coup was not an extension of the previous regime?

[Answer] The first episode that prepared political leaders and gave them a sense of what happened was the fact that student leaders were Muslim Brothers. Second, there was the matter of how a few conflicts in trade unions, such as the railroad union, were managed. The railroad union organized huge marches in ('Adbrah) in which the participation of workers, students and citizens was established. Political slogans rather than religious slogans were proclaimed at these marches. Students, who represent this country's soul, thought they might express their opinions at Omdurman Islamic University. We knew about that, and we went along with it to test the political climate in the capital. When they took action, it was obvious that the public had been mobilized and that the public's response was positive. That was an indication that the script would work this time. After the students' action, the physicians' and professors' associations as well as the Bar Association began their strike.

[Question] Who began it specifically?

[Answer] The professors' association and the Bar Association. We agreed that we would cover each other politically. We said we supported that march and that we would take part in it so that it would turn from being a professional protest and become a broader-based protest. We suggested that that march comprise a memorandum and that it declare a national pact to save Sudan.

What Pact?

[Question] Is that the coalition's and the parties' pact?



[Answer] Yes, with a few changes. After an agreement on the pact was reached, I was asked by those who had been promoting the march: "What will we do if the strike succeeds?" I told them that what can be done along with the strike is to ask the armed forces to join us. A year and a half ago we prepared and published a study about the 10 grave offenses that were committed by the May regime against the armed forces. We decided to contact the leaders of the armed forces and senior officers, and we explained the situation to them. We told them, "You have to make a choice: either the Sudanese people or Numayri." Their reply was as follows: "If it is proven to us that the people are mobilized and ready, we, the children of these people, will stand beside them." This is what happened on Monday. On Wednesday, the people went out into the streets and rallied around their national demands. I asked the armed forces to avoid bloodshed and to join them. Of course this talk did not come out of the blue!

[Question] Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab was appointed by Numayri minister of defense and commander-in-chief 4 weeks ago. Except for [releasing] a few prisoners, there has been no fundamental change in the country's foreign policy.

[Answer] When we asked the armed forces to join us, we were asking an institution, not an individual. Furthermore, Numayri did not appoint Siwar-al-Dhahab because he had confidence in him; he appointed him to that position because military policy in the south was failing, and Numayri needed to have someone he could blame for his failures, his military problems and his humiliation in the south. Numayri had realized that as commander-in-chief he could not command his forces. The principal guarantee that Siwar-al-Dhahab gave the Sudanese people lies in the fact that the people began having a democratic dialogue.

[Question] There are 38 political parties in Sudan today; there are conflicting opinions, trade unions and personal disputes between party leaders. Some parties are trying to gain advanced positions in the coming civilian government. Don't you expect the military to settle that situation and to stay in power?

[Answer] Matters can be settled in two ways: they can either be settled by the people or by the military. In my opinion it has been demonstrated to every thinking person that matters in Sudan must be controlled by the people. You are talking about 38 parties. This is a matter of form, not substance. Actually, these parties are parties in name only; they have no future whatsoever. Only two or three parties have a future in Sudan: the Muslim Brothers, the Leftist Party, the Nasirists and the Ba'thists. [Other parties] represent intellectual movements that apply pressure tactics, but I don't believe that the term, "popular parties" applies to them.

#### A Competing Movement

[Question] Don't you think that the Muslim Brothers, as a political movement, represents competition for you?

[Answer] Not at all. The Muslim Brothers have a legitimate right like others to organize themselves and to make plans as a political movement.

[Question] Do you hold them partially responsible for what happened in Sudan?

[Answer] Yes, I hold them principally responsible for the following: First, the Sudanese Islamic Movement decided to unify its opinion on the question of Islam in Sudan. It formed the Society of Islamic Thought and Culture to prevent anyone from tampering with Islam. The Muslim Brothers took part in making these resolutions. Then when Numayri made his Islamic appeal, and it was obvious that he was manipulating Islam and exploiting it politically, they dropped the guarantees that the Islamic Movement in Sudan and the World Islamic Movement had come up with and joined his experiment. That was one of the biggest mistakes that an Islamic Movement could make because the Muslim Brothers declared their loyalty to someone who was not at all qualified for religious leadership. The other mistake they made was that of dealing with a religious leader knowing that that leader had committed fundamental national treason, such as that of transporting the Falashas.

[Question] Do you believe the Muslim Brothers knew about that?

[Answer] Of course they did!

[Question] When I voiced that charge to Dr Hasan al-Turabi, he denied it, and he said that he had been barred from politics.

[Answer] My dear lady, it is true he was barred from politics, but the case of the Falashas was in the world press. What was the Muslim Brothers' position? They were silent. It is true that Numayri did not consult with anyone, but the question of the Falashas has been known for a long time. I hold them responsible not only for saying nothing about the Falashas, but also for the question of dumping nuclear waste in Sudan and accepting the Camp David Accords. They said nothing about these issues, and they supported them with their silence. And then everyone talked about the foolish and corrupt acts that were committed in the Sudanese regime....

[Question] Are you asking that they be put on trial?

[Answer] No. What I am saying is this: I am asking that a popular penal code be enacted to serve as a deterrent. By this I mean a law by virtue of which those who brought a legal constitutional system to an end in 1969 could be put on trial. Second, those who were in positions of responsibility and who used those positions to arrest and imprison Sudanese citizens, including Imam al-Mahdi, should be put on trial. People were killed in captivity, and those who killed them must be put on trial. Third, all those who tampered with the people's funds must be put on trial. I am talking about the loans and aid: all those who took such loans and aid must be called to account for them. Fourth, people are to account for acts of national treason such as the Falashas case, Camp David, the question of nuclear waste and other matters that dishonor the Sudanese people and humiliate them in their own country. Fifth, those who tortured prisoners during the recent period and ... are to be put on trial.

[Question] Is it to be assumed that Numayri should be put on trial?

[Answer] Numayri did take part in all these things.

[Question] But Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab is saying that there are more important matters now than putting Numayri on trial.

[Answer] I am expressing my own opinion, not Siwar-al-Dhahab's. We are stating our political opinion, and we are advocating it. If the people are persuaded by what we think, then that becomes the more sound opinion. Let's go to court. The sixth and final item to be placed on trial is the so-called Islamic experiment. Some people's hands and limbs were amputated, and those people, in the eyes of Islamic law, are innocent. (Mr Sadiq repeated the word, innocent, in a loud voice.) Those people were unemployed, malnourished and hungry. Legally, their hands may not be amputated. This so-called Islamic experiment has been unfair to people. A man called al-Wathiq was crucified because he stole.

[Question] What do you suggest [as a course of action] for dealing with the south?

[Answer] From the very beginning we have all called for a peaceful solution to the question of the south. Numayri's erroneous policy caused the Addis Ababa Agreement to be tossed aside. An agreement must now be reached over the south's special status in a united Sudan. This special status must be guaranteed in the constitution, and it must have administrative and religious guarantees. The south needs a special development effort because it is quite backward. The south has a legitimate grievance in that it does not participate in power. It seems to me that one of the things that must be done promptly is to convene a national conference to deal with the problem of the south and to solve it in the context of a united Sudan. A national policy may be achieved through such a conference.

[Question] How will the divisions within the Ummah Party and the disputes between you, your uncle and your cousin be resolved?

[Answer] There are no disputes to speak of. There are family problems in the al-Mahdi family, and these may not be described as divisions and bloc formations. Members of Ansar are now united as they have never been before. They have a presence in the modern sector. They have an intellectual presence; they have international relations with Arab extremists and Arab moderates, and they have basic relations with the World Islamic Movement.

[Question] Does what happened in Sudan have anything at all to do with any foreign plan or wish or with an American or Egyptian intelligence operation that wanted this to happen? Are you confident that the military will turn power over to civilians?

[Answer] I do not believe that any intelligence agency played a role in what happened. I believe that U.S. intelligence as well as Egyptian intelligence were interested until the last moment in maintaining the situation in Ja'far Numayri's favor. What happened was the product of a domestic Sudanese driving force; it was the product of domestic Sudanese circumstances and considerations. As to being confident that the military will turn over power to civilians, let me say that the military have in fact led Sudan out of the oppression of the "May" era and into the freedom of the "Rajab" era. This is not a promise; this has already happened.

[Question] But this experiment has been going on for a matter of days....

[Answer] But it did happen. The real guarantee lies in the political movement's awareness of its rights and its willingness to sacrifice. The Sudanese people have demonstrated that they have a lively sense of awareness.

30 May 1985

SUDAN

## DOMESTIC, FOREIGN PROBLEMS FACING NEW GOVERNMENT DISCUSSED

## New Government's Difficult Problems

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 27 Apr 85 pp 15-16

[Article by 'Uthman Mirghani]

[Text] The transitional government is formed after negotiations that lasted 10 days.

The transitional government may be hurt by the problems of the period.

Parties are concentrating their efforts on reorganizing their ranks, leaving the government of independents face the predicament of coming up with difficult solutions.

After negotiations that lasted for over 10 days, the makeup of the civilian Sudanese government was announced last Monday, 22 April 1985. That government will work with the Transitional Military Council during the period of transition, and it will manage the affairs of government in Sudan until the general elections which have been promised are held and power is turned over to an elected government. The Sudanese people have followed with extreme interest the formation of this government, especially after the false starts that these negotiations went through. Because of these false starts the announcement that a government had been formed was delayed several times until an agreement was reached on all the names and positions.

Representatives from political parties and from the coalition of professional associations and officials of the Military Political Committee took part in these negotiations whose goal from the outset was to come out with a list of names that all parties would agree about. That list would have the names of persons who are competent and patriotic. However, reaching an agreement on such a list was not easy. Many objections were made to some of the people who were nominated for cabinet positions. Thus, the list was changed several times before final agreement was reached on the names. That agreement was reached at a late hour Sunday night, April 21, 1985.

It was Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Hasan Siwar-al-Dhahab who made the cabinet organization announcement to the people on radio and television Monday evening,

April 22, 1985. The list did not include the names of well-known political figures. In fact, all the ministers were chosen from a pool of professionals and representatives of professional associations. Official circles attributed that to an agreement reached by all parties that the government have no ties to political parties or known political tendencies during the transitional period. Hence, an agreement was reached that the ministers who are chosen meet four conditions. A candidate for a minister's position must have a sense of nationalism; he must be competent in the area of work he will be chosen to perform; he must be honorable and honest; and he must not have held a government post to which he was appointed by presidential decree during the previous administration, from 1969 to 1985.

Informed sources told AL-TADAMUN that representatives of the Coalition of Professional Associations were the ones who suggested these conditions, and the military command promptly agreed to them in the hope that the new government would not be influenced by any of the parties, that conflicts could be prevented and that the dangers of division could be warded off. Representatives of political parties agreed to those conditions because they wanted to take advantage of the transitional period to reorganize their ranks and prepare themselves for the elections which had been promised. This does not mean, however, that political parties did not play a role in the elections, nor does it mean that they nominated no candidates for cabinet positions. AL-TADAMUN has learned that representatives of political parties came forward one time with a separate list of candidates and that they also nominated candidates to some positions and objected to other candidates, professionals who had been nominated to certain positions. At other meetings representatives of political parties also insisted that they wanted to have their own people in the cabinet to act as their eyes and ears in that body.

A few non-political figures think that political parties agreed not to meddle with the civilian transitional government for two reasons. First, they really wanted to concentrate their efforts during the 1-year period of transition on rebuilding their ranks and organizing their bases to prepare for the general elections that had been promised. For 16 years political parties had been denied involvement in public political activity, and during that time Sudanese society underwent many changes and transformations. There is also an entire generation of Sudanese citizens--those who are under 25--who have not yet been introduced to political activity. Those people also do not remember anything about the democratic experiment of the sixties (from 1964 to 1969). They represent a large segment of the voters whose support any political party will try to enlist in a drive to ensure its victory in the elections. In addition, these parties do not yet know if their old electoral bases are still cohesive or if they too have been affected by the absence of partisan activity, which is based on having multiple political parties.

The second reason why political parties agreed not to meddle with the transitional civilian government may be summarized by saying that political parties wanted the Coalition of Professional Associations to get burned in the course of its involvement with the government during the period of transition. Political parties know that that period will undoubtedly be thorny and packed with economic problems. The failure of the transitional civilian government to solve these problems will mean that the Coalition of Professional Associations will

lose much of the popularity it gained after the recent popular uprising that paved the way for the action that was taken this April 6th.

It remains to be said that the transitional government is facing substantial and fundamental challenges, most important of which is that of doing something about the problems of the Sudanese economy, which is about to collapse. Sudan's foreign debts have exceeded 9 billion dollars. The transitional government has to overcome the deteriorating situation in the south, and it has to persuade Col John Garang to give up his extremist position. Col Garang has demanded that the military council be relieved of its duties and that all power be turned over to civilians. Otherwise, he would resume his jungle war, which is now starting its third year.

In addition to all that, the transitional government has to deal with the problems of drought and famine. Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab, who chaired the committee that has been assigned the task of dealing with the problem, has announced that 6 million Sudanese citizens, including 1 million children, will be affected by the famine as of next June, if about 430 million metric tons of wheat are not made available. That amount is twice the amount that was approved at the Geneva meetings early this month.

Also among the responsibilities of the transitional government is that of reconsidering Sudan's foreign relations in a manner that is compatible with the promise made by Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab when he seized power. The general promised that Sudan would follow a non-aligned policy and that it would not become involved in the policies of alliances and camps.

#### New Cabinet Members Listed

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 27 Apr 85 p 15

[Text] Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah, president of the Physicians' Association, prime minister.

Ibrahim Taha Ayyub, former minister in Kenya, minister of foreign affairs.

Amin Makki Madani, a lawyer, minister of housing.

Sayyid Ahmad Muhammad al-Sayyid, minister of commerce, cooperation and development.

'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid, minister of finance, planning and the economy.

'Asim 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman, a university professor, minister of agriculture.

Bashir Haj al-Tum, minister of education.

'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Uthman Musa, minister of energy and industry.

Husayn Abu Salih, a physician, minister of health and social welfare

Muhammad Bashir Hamid, a university professor, minister of information, culture, youth and sports.

Lt Gen 'Abbas Madani, a police officer, minister of the interior.

Brig Gen 'Uthman 'Abdallah, member of the Military Council, minister of defense.

Mirghani al-Nasri, president of the Bar Association, minister of justice.

Samuel Aru, a southerner, minister of irrigation and deputy prime minister.

Dr Oliver Albinu, a southerner, minister of labor and insurance.

Peter Gat Kuth, a southerner, minister of transportation and communications.

Brigadier general and attorney Ahmad Mahmud Hasan was also appointed legal adviser to the Transitional Military Council. Bashir Muhammad Sa'id, founder and publisher of the newspaper, AL-AYYAM, was appointed media adviser to the council.

#### Relations with Egypt Examined

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 27 Apr 85 pp 16-17

[Article by al-Fatih al-Tijani]

[Text] Future relations with Egypt: Will Cairo take away Numayri's residence permit to please Khartoum?

Talking about the case of the Falashas and the role that principals of the previous regime played in their departure may embarrass Cairo, particularly if Khartoum were to request the extradition of Numayri so he could be put on trial.

One of the topics of discussion that will continue to be bandied about for quite some time in the aftermath of the popular-military coup in Sudan is that of relations between Egypt and Sudan. That topic has always topped a list of priorities that would be drawn up whenever political changes were made in any one of the two countries. That has been happening not only in the two countries' recent history, but also since the oldest times; this has been happening in Egypt and Sudan since the times of the Pharaonic families.

King Faruq reigned in Egypt as "the King of Egypt and Sudan." When he was overthrown by the July Revolution, the first announcement made by Gen Muhammad Najib, who had Sudanese relatives, dealt with the Revolution's interest in Sudan's future. Gen Najib declared that the Revolution would make an effort to speak for the two nations simultaneously. When the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir assumed absolute authority over the country, the "Sudanese problem" was at the top of his concerns. He chose Cpt Salah Salim [Translator's note: The title, "Sagh," is a rank in Egypt's military, between that of captain and major.] and Air Force Pilot Husayn Dhu-al-Faqar Sabri and gave them responsibility for that problem. During that period Sudan was granted the right to determine its own destiny, and parliament proclaimed the country's independence.

When 'Abd-al-Nasir died and al-Sadat took office, he announced the beginning of a new era in Egyptian-Sudanese relations. "The Integration Program" between the

two countries was signed, and several joint committees were formed in that regard. Responsibility for overseeing these committees was given to the prime ministers of both countries: Mamduh Salim in Egypt and al-Rashid al-Tahir Bakr in Sudan. When President Husni Mubarak took office in Egypt after al-Sadat's assassination, he announced once again "a new stage" in the process of integration. That new stage was ushered in by approving and signing "the Integration Pact" as an advanced step in that program.

Concern for relations between the two countries in Sudan was no less than what it was in Egypt. Sudan's Declaration of Independence emphasized its concern that it have good relations with Egypt. When Gen Ibrahim 'Abbud came to power after a military coup in 1958, the first bulletin he issued mentioned that one of the reasons for the coup was "to remove an artificial rift between Sudan and Egypt." He was referring to that crisis between the two countries which occurred when 'Abdallah Bey Khalil, Sudan's prime minister then and leader of the Ummah Party condemned what he called Egypt's occupation of Hala'ib, an area adjacent to the borders between the two countries. Prime Minister Khalil publicly called upon the military and the people to fight to drive the Egyptians out of the area and to "liberate" it.

It is worth noting that the dispute over Hala'ib has not yet been settled officially.

When the popular revolution of October 1964 overthrew Gen 'Abbud's administration, one of its driving forces was to achieve closer ties with 'Abd-al-Nasir's Egypt. In the period that followed the restoration of a democratic civilian government in Sudan, relations between the two countries were such that the army and the people of Sudan took part in Egypt's June 1967 war. A summit conference, known as the "Triple No Summit" was held in Khartoum. At that conference the late Isma'il al-Azhari, president of the Sovereign [Executive] Council, and Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub, the prime minister, played outstanding roles, not only in attracting moral and material support for the confrontation countries, but also in removing some of the reasons for Arab disputes, most important of which was the war in Yemen. It was in the home of Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub that 'Abd-al-Nasir met with King Faysal for the first time in a long time. There, an agreement was reached on ending the war and on the general principles for the Jeddah Agreement, which was signed later.

When Col Ja'far Muhammad Numayri seized power in May 1969, he too announced, among other things, that he would develop and strengthen relations between Egypt and Sudan.

While Numayri, the deposed president, was still in office, relations between the two countries were not always strong. These relations slumped occasionally when there was much abuse in official circles and in the media, especially after the Sudanese government restored diplomatic relations with the United States late in 1973.

Besides, the integration pact was not completely satisfactory. It had been preceded by the integration program and by the Tripoli Pact, which antedated both the program and the pact and had united Sudan, Egypt and Libya and later Syria. The pact was decried because it lacked popular appeal and because most people did not care for it.



In recent years, after political parties were established in Egypt, integration practices were criticized by opposition parties, particularly the Grouping Party, and to a certain extent the Wafd Party. These two parties described the integration process as merely an official formality that had nothing to do with the two peoples. In the recent elections campaign that was held in Egypt last year, the National Party dropped the integration question from its elections platform. The National Party may have done that because its leaders became convinced that the integration process was no longer appealing and that it could not win votes for the party. When the popular forces succeeded a few weeks ago in inducing the military to seize power on April 6, one of the first questions that was being asked as a result of the new situation had to do with the subject of relations with Egypt. Questions were being asked about relations with Egypt because the coup took place when the deposed president was in Cairo, on his way to Sudan. President Husni Mubarak was the first person to meet Numayri after he was stripped of his powers.

It was obvious that Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab, the leader of the coup, had gone out of his way to clarify the new regime's position toward Egypt. He affirmed that relations between the two countries would continue to be "distinguished," and that the new regime would do everything it could to maintain with Egypt the same level of relations that existed previously. Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab had also indicated that the new regime would do everything in its power to remove tensions between Sudan and its other neighbors, Libya and Ethiopia. The two countries' hostility to Numayri had been deep-seated, and several attempts originating from these two countries had been made to overthrow him.

Nevertheless, the fact that deposed President Numayri is living in Cairo may cast a shadow over relations between the two countries and create tension between them.

People in Sudan are now demanding that Numayri be sent to Khartoum. Demonstrators marched to the Egyptian Embassy in Khartoum to make that demand. Also all the speakers at all political gatherings of the various parties condemned the deposed president and asked that he be brought to Khartoum and put on trial. One of the most prominent advocates of that course is al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, president of the Ummah Party.

But the more significant development in that regard has to do with information revealed in Khartoum about the operation to transport the Falashas, the Ethiopian Jews, from their camps in Ethiopia and Sudan to the occupied land [in Palestine].

The previous regime made a major effort to deny its involvement in transporting the Falashas. It accused Ethiopian authorities of collusion in that operation and then placing the responsibility on Sudan. It seemed during the last days of the regime that the matter was somehow being "covered up" or that at least it had lost its appeal. Reports about that operations disappeared from the front pages of Arab newspapers and retreated to the inside pages. But as the facts about the previous regime unfolded, the case of the Falashas emerged as one of the most important and most serious cases.

The Khartoum correspondent of the London newspaper, THE OBSERVER, reported on Sunday, 21 April 1985 that officials in the new regime had affirmed that

President Numayri was personally involved in Operation Moses. They said that others who were also involved in that operation were Numayri's vice president, 'Umar Muhammad al-Tayyib; his assistant, Dr Baha'-al-Din Muhammad Idris; Numayri's ambassador in Washington and relative, 'Umar Salih 'Isa; the vice president of the State Security Organization, 'Uthman al-Sayyid; and a senior security officer, al-Fatih 'Urwah. THE OBSERVER indicated that these people received a total of 56 million dollars in bribes--that is a rate of 10,000 dollars per single Falasha.

Although a spokesman for the American Society for the Protection of Ethiopian Jews, a Jewish lobbying group that supervised Operation Moses, denied that the organization had offered Numayri any bribes, it is doubtful that that denial will carry any weight among the Sudanese people or the Arabs.

Thus, Egypt's embarrassment about having Numayri live in Cairo will undoubtedly grow. The Sudanese people will demand that Numayri be put on trial for his role in the operation to transport the Falashas. And Arabs will sympathize with that demand. Cairo's refusal to turn Numayri over to the Sudanese may be construed as sympathy for his role in that operation, or at least lack of concern for that role. And that would make the Egyptian regime the target of attack not only by some Sudanese circles, but also by many Arab circles.

Nevertheless, Egypt has had this solid, firmly-established tradition of receiving deposed heads of state and kings as well as political refugees of various political tendencies and affiliations. Cairo has never turned down anyone who sought refuge there, regardless of his actions. It will be extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, for Cairo to turn its back on the first Sudanese president to be deposed and to seek asylum in Egyptian territory and turn him over to the Sudanese. Sudanese circles will find that an opportunity to open fire on the Egyptian regime. Whether such an attack will be supported by officials or not, relations between the two countries will suffer, and the fact that Numayri will be living in Cairo will continue to constitute a psychological barrier between the two countries.

In addition, the fact that the new regime in Sudan wishes to improve its relations with Ethiopia and particularly Libya will be very closely scrutinized by Egyptian diplomats. Although the Egyptian prime minister, Kamal Hasan 'Ali has announced that his country does not object to Sudan's efforts to improve relations with its neighbors and that it does support the removal of tension from Sudan's foreign relations, Egypt will undoubtedly be uncomfortable if Sudan's new relations with its neighbors are established at the expense of Egypt's relations with Sudan.

Finally, it remains to be said that although what happened in Sudan was peaceful and consistent with Sudanese characteristics, it was not a mere transfer of power. It was rather a real coup against the old situation. What happened in Sudan was not merely a military coup that was supported by the people; it was primarily a popular coup that was supported by the military. From that perspective [it is expected] that basic and fundamental changes will be made on the political scene in Sudan and that much of the old will be changed. Although relations between countries are not like primary relations between individuals in being subject to variables, what happened in Sudan cannot be construed as an

ordinary change. It is rather an explosion that will rock the entire region. It will force many of the countries in the region to reconsider their positions and reshuffle their cards. Egypt is the closest country to Sudan, and historically, it has had the most reactions--negative or positive--to everything that happened in Sudan.

8592

CSO: 4504/309

SUDAN

JOHN GARANG PROFILED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 26 Apr 85 p 30

[Article by Eric Rouleau: "The Mystery of John Garang"]

[Text] Of all the political leaders who have to be reckoned with in Sudan there is at least one in whose hands the future of the present interim government lies. That man is John Garang, the leader of the People's Liberation Movement in Sudan, a guerilla movement in the south that contributed significantly to the downfall of Ja'far Numayri.

There are several reasons why he carries more weight than northern leaders do. He managed to unite under his leadership different tribal, political and military groups that in the past had divided the confidence of the southern population. He is the only politician in Sudan who has a well-equipped and a well-trained army. He also has weapons and funds that are sent to him by Ethiopia and Libya and, indirectly, the Soviet Union. He is the only politician in Sudan who can, through his battle with the central government in Khartoum, bring the economy to a standstill and ruin the country's finances. Furthermore, his political agenda is one that could win him the sympathy and support of other provinces in Sudan besides the southern provinces. If he could extend his political-military organization to the north, he would become the leader of the only movement that has branches all over the country. At any rate, this is one of his political ambitions.

But first of all, exactly who is this John Garang? About 2 years ago no one in Sudan knew who he was. The mystery that surrounds his personality has not yet been dispelled, even after he became as famous as former Marshall Numayri. Garang prefers to live in the shadow of his fighters in whose ranks he may be found most of the time. He makes occasional visits to Addis Ababa, and he has never held a press conference or granted a journalist an interview. Only one picture of him has appeared in newspapers, and it is always the same picture. It was only recently, less than 1 month before the downfall of Numayri's regime, that he received important persons from the north who went to see him to express their sympathy and understanding. Among those important figures were Dr Mansur Khalid, the former minister of foreign affairs, and Khalil 'Uthman, a businessman. The latter is playing the role of secret intermediary between the leader of the southern rebellion and Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab, president of the Transitional Military Council (TMC) in Khartoum.

The investigation we conducted enabled us to uncover some aspects of Garang's personality. One of his old colleagues in school, who knew him well in the sixties when both attended Rumbek School in south Sudan, describes John Garang as a "hard-working, secretive, gloomy individual who kept to himself." At that time Garang showed no interest in politics nor even in the fate of his countrymen--Christian or animist blacks--who have been carrying arms against the Arab-Islamic government in the north since 1955. Instead of joining the ranks of the Anya-Nya rebels, as many young people his age did at the time, he chose to continue his studies in the United States where he attended Grinnell College in Iowa.

But soon after returning to Sudan in 1970, he joined the ranks of the Anya-Nya who were being led by Gen Lagu, the same man who became vice president after reconciling with Numayri in 1972. At that time the independence movement in the south was being supported by the United States and Israel. Both countries felt uneasy about the presence of communists in Numayri's government. And so John Garang was secretly sent to Israel to receive training in the use of weapons.

Two years later, after the Addis Ababa Agreements were signed--these agreements gave the southern provinces autonomy--John Garang joined the Sudanese army where he was quickly promoted to the rank of colonel. But he soon became disgruntled with Marshall Numayri's method of applying the Addis Ababa Agreements. He thought that southerners had been deceived. Gen Lagu, who cooperated with Numayri until the latter's downfall, had little tolerance for Garang's "ill nature." Lagu used to tell us not too long ago, "I got rid of him by giving him permission twice to resume his studies in the United States." John Garang thus spent a total of 10 years in the United States. He became a strong-willed man while attending the military academy in Fort Benning, Georgia, and he later earned a doctorate magna cum laude in economics from the University of Iowa. After returning to Khartoum in 1981, he received an appointment in the army's Research Department, and he was allowed to teach agricultural economics at Khartoum University.

Despite his "ill nature," no one felt the need to be wary of Garang who was considered a brilliant officer and an educated and capable man who was not involved in politics at all. Hence, Numayri and all those who knew Garang super-ficially were shocked 2 years later when John Garang and his wife and children disappeared on 16 May 1983, while enjoying an "innocent vacation" in his hometown, Bor. Garang was taken by Landrover to the jungle, and 10 weeks later, that is, on 31 July 1983, he issued the bulletin that contained the agenda of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement, which he had founded during that period. Four months later, Garang began the first of his military operations against the central government's army which has suffered ignominious defeats since then.

Of course, Numayri accused Garang of being a Marxist and an agent, but he was unable to persuade many people, including the Americans, that those changes were true. The U.S. State Department, which considered Garang a leftist nationalist, repeatedly urged Numayri to reconcile with him, but to no avail.

Important people from the north who met with Garang were left with the impression that he had his own beliefs and that he was sincere. Despite the massive

aid he has been receiving from Libya, John Garang has always refused to go to Tripoli to meet with Col al-Qadhdhafi. It is also said that his relations with Ethiopian authorities are based on nothing more than "mutual interests."

As we've already mentioned, John Garang's political significance lies in his potential to become a national leader. Actually, what makes him different from his southern predecessors, who led the struggle between 1955 and 1972, is his stern condemnation of all forms of separatism, regionalism and sectarianism.

To him, the conflict is not one between blacks and Arabs or between Christians and Muslims. It is a conflict between the people of the north, west, east and south against oppressive governments in Khartoum that placed priority on developing Sudan's Central Region at the expense of the country's other regions.

John Garang is thus proposing to all the Sudanese people a cure--all that consists of three inseparable elements: democracy, socialism and secularism. However, this does not mean that the 31 July 1983 program is all that clear!

Of course there was nothing ambiguous in Garang's announcement that the state must be separated from the mosque and the church. But what are the "socialist changes" that he is talking about? He uses neither a western model of socialism nor an eastern one. He does not talk about nationalizing companies or collective ownership of land. He only identifies the enemies who must be fought, and they are: the elite in the north and in the south; the bourgeoisie; the bureaucrats; political leaders; reactionaries; reactionary governments in Africa and the Arab world; and imperialism and the new colonialism who are exploiting Sudan and keeping it in a state of backwardness."

In his judgment the "natural allies" of his movement are "workers and farmers and their popular organizations; revolutionary students and intellectuals; and progressive individuals in the ranks of the army and police."

John Garang never refers to any left-wing or right-wing political party. Does he intend to establish a one-party system in Sudan, or does he want to keep his movement in a position of dominance on the political scene?

Either way, Garang is likely to strengthen the alliance between military men and political parties in the north who will be able to let their forces take action in the coming months.

At any rate, the ultimate outcome, albeit regrettable, is that idealism will be overpowered. It is actually inconceivable that a Christian from the south can become the leader of a country two thirds of whose population are Muslim Arabs.

8592

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SUDAN

FRG TV INTERVIEWS GEN SIWAR-AL-DHAHAB

DW021029 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1730 GMT 1 May 85

["Exclusive" interview with Sudanese Chief of State Siwar-al-Dhahab by correspondent Claus P. Clausen in Khartoum; date not given; in English with superimposed German translation; from the "ZDF Magazin" program--recorded]

[Text] [Clausen] In your first government statement, you announced fundamental reform programs. Which of these have absolute priority as far as you are concerned?

[Siwar-al-Dhahab] Priority number one goes to the preservation of national unity. This means that national unity is our special concern. This is priority number one. For this reason, the politicians from the south will have an equal share in the future government. In other words, they will be equal to their brothers from the north. In practice, they will have three seats in the new cabinet. This is priority number one.

Priority number two pertains to the distress caused by the lasting drought in Sudan--the economic situation and the counteraction of the drought and water shortage. This is priority number two. This is vitally important because a large number of our citizens are affected by the effects of this drought and water shortage. For this reason, we attach priority to this task, and this is why I personally chair the high commission for combatting drought and water shortage.

[Clausen] More than 1 million refugees from Eritrea and Tigray are living in your country. How do you propose to solve this problem in the future?

[Siwar-al-Dhahab] Of course, our borders remain open to everyone seeking refuge in our country. Despite the fact that we ourselves are suffering from the drought and the water shortage, we cannot shut the door in the face of the refugees. They are welcome, and we try with all means at our disposal to make life somewhat tolerable for them in our country.

[Clausen] What do you expect for your country from the FRG Government with a view to cooperation and economic prosperity?

[Siwar-al-Dhahab] Thank you very much for bringing up this question. To begin with, I would like to thank your government and the FRG people for the generous support we have received from them. In this serious situation where we are suffering from a severe drought and a water shortage, I depend on our friends in the FRG--in the government and among the citizens--to continue their support to Sudan because we have more than 5 million children who are directly affected by this drought, and probably 1 million of these 5 million children will lose their lives. Unless the necessary help reaches them in time, the development of the remaining 4 million will be seriously affected to the point where it could not be corrected by medical attention.

CSO: 4500/108



— SUDAN

KUWAITI PAPER AL-ANBA' INTERVIEWS GEN SIWAR-AL-DHAHAB

GF231528 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 22 Apr 85 pp 1, 25

[Interview with General 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab, chairman of the Sudanese Transitional Military Council, by AL-ANBA' correspondent Ahmad Hanaqah in Khartoum--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Ahmad Hanaqah] Your excellency lieutenant general, how do you view Sudanese-Kuwaiti relations?

[Siwar-al-Dhahab] The relations between Sudan and Kuwait are solid and supported by bonds of blood, language, and religion. We are determined to consolidate and enhance these relations in all fields through cooperation with brothers in Kuwait, the amir, the government, and the people. We do not forget the extremely distinguished role of Kuwait, its contribution in our various development projects, and its support during past years and at present.

[Hanaqah] What are the most important duties of the current transitional period? Is a 1 year period enough and satisfactory?

[al-Dhahab] The main duties are to liquidate the traces of the former regime, to support national unity, to find a peaceful and democratic solution to the south issue, to correct the path of the national economy, to prepare the country for a period of direct democratic rule, and to hand over authority to the people at the end of the transitional period.

Concerning the length of the period, we will reach an agreement on that with brothers of the trade unions' group and the political parties.

I think that all are aware of the importance of the period and the need to face these duties.

[Hanaqah] Are there any plans to normalize relations with Ethiopia and Libya?

[al-Dhahab] Yes, we have taken the elementary steps stated in communique 3 on foreign policy, in which we affirmed our intention to improve and develop relations with all neighboring countries. We actually began a practical move in this regard with some countries, including Ethiopia and Libya.

[Hanaqah] Is the presence of Ja'far Numayri in Cairo an embarrassment to Egypt and Sudan? Will Sudan demand his trial? What are the charges against him?

[al-Dhahab] The presence of Numayri in Egypt is no embarrassment to us. Our relations with Egypt would not be affected by the presence of someone there. Concerning the trial of deposed President Numayri, we will leave this matter for the people to decide. The door of justice is open.

[Hanaqah] What about the nonaligned policy adopted by Sudan? What about Sudanese-U.S. relations?

[al-Dhahab] Sudan is adhering to the principles of the Nonaligned Movement according to communique 3. We will work for strengthening the movement so as to implement its role for serving international peace. Regarding Sudanese-U.S. relations, they are very good. The United States provides us with appreciable economic aid and to fight disasters, drought, and desertification.

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SUDAN

AL-MAHDI CALLS FOR 'CHARTER,' REPUBLIC

NC242040 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1730 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Cairo, 24 Apr (MENA)--Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, leader of Sudan's al-Ansar community, has emphasized his eagerness to maintain sound relations with Egypt. This sound basis, he added, will ensure that the momentum of these relations continues.

Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, considered to be one of Sudan's most prominent political personalities, made this remark in an interview with the weekly magazine AL-MUSAWWAR. The interview will appear the day after tomorrow, Friday.

The leader of the al-Ansar community, who is also the leader of Sudan's al-Ummah Party, said: We favor nonalignment in foreign policy, and are eager to formulate an independent line for the states of the south, the Islamic bloc, and the Arab countries. We are also keen to apply the policy of good neighborliness to everyone, including Libya and Ethiopia.

He pointed out that his party calls for strengthening Arab resources to confront Israel. It does so on the grounds that Israel is an expansionist entity which refuses to move toward peace and works to divide the Arabs. Therefore, we must build an Arab force to impose a just solution to the problem.

In his interview with AL-MUSAWWAR, Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi touched on the situation in Sudan. He said that his community was the first to bless and contribute to the 6 April revolution.

He noted that Sudan needs a 5-year charter. Such a charter would ensure that our major problems are confronted at the national level, and not on the basis of each party's policy. He said: We favor a presidential system of government once elections are held; this means that a freely elected person would assume power.

On his view of the transitional period, Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi said it must be short. A national charter should be drawn up during that phase, and laws guaranteeing the people's exercise of their political rights should be promulgated.

Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi concluded his interview by expressing confidence that the Transitional Military Council will hand over power to civilians at the end of the transitional period. He said that the council's members have no political ambitions at all.

CSO: 4500/108

SUDAN

RUSE USED BY COUP PLOTTERS TO OVERTHROW NUMAYRI DESCRIBED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic 24 Apr 85 pp 46-48

[Article by Mahmud Idris: AL-YAMAMAH Publishes Secrets Never Told Before: The 'Ruse' that Brought about Numayri's Downfall"]

[Text] I do not have to draw a picture of the Sudanese people's revolution: all the people's unions, classes and parties and all men, women and boys in all the provinces rebelled against former President Ja'far Numayri who ruled the country for almost 16 years. I do not have to paint a picture of that revolution; doing that would be redundant, and redundancy is not one of the functions of weekly magazines.

But let me tell you what I believe daily newspapers did not do, even though they published information about the revolution before we did, using words and pictures to describe what happened in Sudan. Besides, daily newspapers also reported to their readers news that had been leaked or reported by news agencies about what had happened in Sudan.

Saturday, April 6, 1985 was the day that had been set for the march that the coalition of professional associations had called for. This coalition was made up of the physicians', engineers and accountants' associations; the Association of Khartoum University Students; the Association of Bank Employees; the Association of Social Security Employees; and the Association of University Professors. On that memorable day this coalition was to be joined by judges, who were to join the march after declaring civil disobedience and a political strike. People woke up early that morning everywhere in the Tri-capital area: in Khartoum, the nation's capital; in Omdurman, the national capital and stronghold of the national movement in Sudan; and in Khartoum North, the third city that makes up the Tri-capital triangle. Leaders and members of Ansar took part in the march; they were led by 'Umar Nur-al-Dayim.

Before eight o'clock after the masses had started their march to the presidential palace, something unexpected happened. Traffic police blocked the roads leading to downtown Khartoum. Except for the headquarters of the State Security Organization and the General Command of the Armed Forces, everything run by the state is downtown.

The People's Palace--as the former president liked to call it; the prime minister's office; all the ministries; and all government offices are located in

downtown Khartoum, which is separated from the two other parts of the city by two streams: the White Nile and the Blue Nile. From the south the only way in and out of Khartoum is via two bridges and two surface tunnels--if one may say that. A train passes over these two tunnels. One road out of Khartoum leads to the dense al-Sunt forest, west of Khartoum. A road branches off from there and leads to Omdurman Bridge and to the entrance to the General Command of the Armed Forces. In other words, there are six roads going in and out of downtown Khartoum and separating it from the southern section of the city where the industrial area is located. It is a large labor center with numerous high-density residential neighborhoods. About 270,000 persons live there.

It was therefore very easy for traffic policemen to block these six roads going in and out of downtown Khartoum to prevent the large crowds who were marching toward downtown Khartoum from joining the Saturday march and attending the official proclamation of a political strike and civil disobedience. A petition signed by the Coalition of Professional Associations and Political Parties was to be turned over to the former vice president at the People's Palace. The petition demanded that President Numayri and all his ministers, advisers and political agencies be removed from office. It demanded that power be turned over to a transitional civilian government that would pave the way for the restoration of democratic government agencies such as those that existed before the 25 May coup.

No one understood what had happened between Friday evening and Saturday morning. No one from the city police or the armed forces had interfered with or harmed the demonstrations that started on Wednesday, April 3, 1985 and continued till 1 a.m. of the same day [sic] and through midnight Friday. In fact, what happened was exactly the opposite. The masses' cheers were mixed with the soldiers' cries of joy as the soldiers brandished their weapons to salute the rebels. The 8 people who lost their lives and the 65 persons who were wounded were the victims of snipers recruited by the State Security Organization. They had been turned into militias subordinate to one man, former President Numayri. In a few cases city police used tear gas to protect property from the destruction that accompanied the demonstrations that were carried out on Wednesday, 27 March. That was the day President Numayri left Khartoum Airport on his way to Washington.

No one understood that curious shift, and people had various interpretations for it. Some said that the former president had arrived and that he had seized the reins. Others said that the masses of the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU) had taken control of the square downtown. [They thought that] if a coalition opposed to the SSU were allowed to go into the square, a bloody confrontation was bound to happen, and people would either be killed or wounded. However, what was happening in the military barracks had not occurred to any one of the thousands of people. No one imagined what the military leaders and those under their command in the armed forces had agreed to in a meeting that was attended by all the leaders of the principal military units. They agreed that to avoid bloodshed, it was essential that the situation be settled in favor of the people.

#### Two Meetings on Thursday and Friday

After the situation was cleared up and the government's destiny was determined, the facts of the situation were revealed. The dense cloud of dust that had kept

the masses from seeing what was going on and left them guessing and speculating about what was going on had left them feeling pessimistic, frustrated and hopeless about their uprising which they thought was about to be foiled. What happened at the two meetings that were held on Thursday and Friday?

The officers' consensus was totally rejected by the commander-in-chief and minister of defense; he turned down the idea of seizing power. The minister of defense, who is by the way a devout man, told the officers, "I took an oath to protect the authority of the May Revolution and uphold the constitution. I also declared my loyalty to the president as a religious leader and head of state. I swore on the Koran that I would help him apply the laws of God in Sudan. For these reasons I reject the idea of seizing power. I would prefer to die fighting with him or fighting in his war against the Church and against separatists in Sudan."

That was what the commander-in-chief said at the meeting that was held on Thursday, April 4. The commander-in-chief left the military commanders in the meeting and walked out. On Friday morning we heard the commander-in-chief address the soldiers, officers and non-commissioned infantry officers at Karari Military Academy. He told them that the May Revolution would survive and that they had to honor their oath to the leader and keep their solemn promise to him to apply the Islamic code.

#### Using the Mufti To Persuade the Commander-in-Chief

Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Siwar-al-Dhahab, the commander-in-chief is a devout man. He is a moderate, honest, honorable and disciplined military man. Military men, especially those who are close to him, know that he has these qualities. Therefore, they insisted that he had to be persuaded to lead the coup which would crown the popular revolution that was carried out by the common people of Sudan against the former president.

Therefore, when the commander-in-chief left the army unit commanders after the Thursday meeting, a unanimous decision was reached to try again on Friday morning to persuade him. They decided they would not give in to despair; the resentment they felt for the former president's regime and its corruption was high. They were angry about the suffering he had inflicted on all the people, except for a few hypocrites. They entrusted a group of brigadier generals with the difficult task of persuading their devout leader, who feared God's punishment should he recant an oath he had taken on the Holy Koran. Finally, one officer came up with an ideal solution. He suggested that they ask the Mufti of Sudan to explain to the man that protecting Numayri's administration would require killing thousands since there was a popular revolution going on and since the civil disobedience and political strike would be carried out universally. If the troops that had been trained for such a day did not stand alongside the masses, that would mean they would be standing against them with the former president. And that, quite simply, would mean that there would be a historic human massacre of unprecedented proportions, especially when we learn that the weapons that these troops have are the most modern and the deadliest of weapons. In addition, these troops also have sensitive communications devices for remote and close range communications. There is also the anti-people police whose members have nothing to do all day but practice the use of modern weapons

when necessary. With the help of another religious figure, respected by the general, the Mufti persuaded the commander-in-chief. The situation was turned around completely, and the commander-in-chief agreed to lead the operation that would crown the popular revolution by seizing power. When that happened, none of the leaders of professional associations or political parties knew about it. Accordingly, blocking the roads on Saturday morning, April 6, 1985 was justified; there were reasons for it. Here is what happened a few hours after the roads were blocked.

#### The First Vice President is Informed That the Army Intends To Seize Power

After Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Siwar-al-Dhahab was persuaded that it was necessary that he lead an operation to seize power, the army itself was still in danger of having all its officers and non-commissioned officers and soldiers massacred. Members of the city police and all the masses were also threatened by the same danger. Where did that danger come from? What was its source? Whose interests were being served by that threat? And what weapons could be used to defeat armored vehicles, strike unit soldiers, paratroopers, the air force, the artillery, the infantry and the rest of the army as well as the city police and the masses? Where would that threat to all these formations come from?

Here is the answer to that question.

The Sudanese "armed" forces have been unarmed for quite some time! Ordinary rifles are the only weapons they have. Only those armed forces that are engaged in fighting the rebel forces in the south have weapons, which they do not get until they reach their final destination. That is the reason for the farce that we had in Omdurman about 1 year ago when an enemy airplane penetrated Sudan's air space. It flew over Sudanese territory and reached an open area where anti-aircraft guns had been set up. The airplane was flying at a low altitude, and its story is well-known, but it would be all right to state that it bombed the radio broadcast building and neighboring homes. The airplane then continued its unhurried flight, and it flew over Wadi Sayyidna Air Base where it should have been intercepted or shot down by missiles launched from platforms on the base. However, there were no missiles on the platforms. How then can an enemy airplane be shot down?

How was the military command going to seize power without the use of force when the "armed" forces were unarmed, when the State Security Organization's recruits had the most modern weapons and the most modern devices for foreign and domestic communications? How was the military command going to seize power when the central reserve police as well as the special forces had the most modern weapons and had received the most modern training in the martial arts, in guerilla warfare and in other kinds of mass annihilation?

Because the situation with all its possibilities was determined to be critical and dangerous, an agreement on the following was reached by leaders of the coup after careful consideration.

1. They agreed to seize power and to issue a bulletin to that effect to the masses. They would say that their action was taken to comply with the people's wishes.

2. The first vice president would be informed about the coup. He would be told that the coup was carried out in the interests of President Numayri, and he would be asked to convene an emergency session of the Council of Ministers to tell the ministers the news. Each minister would have to go to his office to pick up his personal belongings, if he wanted to, and he would then return to his home and rest until conditions became calm.

3. Maj Gen Kamal Hasan Ahmad was promoted to general. The new military command asked him to change the name of the State Security Organization to the National Security Organization.

4. The person who followed him in rank was promoted to lieutenant general.

5. Both were asked to present a list showing the locations of weapons depots and to share secret files with coup leaders. They were asked to demand that their soldiers stop hitting citizens in the capital and the provinces. Each did what had been agreed upon.

First Vice President Maj Gen 'Umar Muhammad al-Tayyib went to his home in Kober, which is located on the northern banks of the Blue Nile, about five kilometers from the prime minister's office, on the southern banks of the Blue Nile. The first vice president left the prime minister's office and headed home. As usual, his car, which was surrounded by motorcycles, was preceded by a police car with red flashing lights. As he headed home, he thought that the coup led by Siwar-al-Dhahab was in favor of the former president. He did not know that that was a ruse devised by the military command that seized power on behalf of the people and in their interests.

#### The Masses Are Bewildered

Naturally, the people did not know about that ruse. Therefore, they felt frustrated when some of them saw the vice president on his way home as usual and when others saw the ministers going to their offices as though nothing had happened. When the doors of the Sudanese Socialist Union were found opened and a few politicians were seen there after listening to the commander-in-chief's Bulletin Number One regarding complying with the masses' wishes and turning power over to them within a certain transitional period, they realized that matters had gone out of their hands and that they had been duped. They realized that everything was about to collapse and that all the plans that had been made had come to naught.

#### An Angry Rumbling Demonstration on the Following Day

On the evening of the same day the Coalition of Professional Associations and Political Party Representatives met and decided to organize a massive march on Sunday morning. They decided to continue the political strike and the civil disobedience. No one knows exactly whether it was coincidence or pressure from the masses that was the reason behind having the principals of the old regime arrested and the State Security Organization disbanded. At any rate, that is exactly what happened.



## Armored Vehicles and Paratroopers Surround the Organization

I contacted a number of my friends in the military who had been assigned specific tasks that day, and I found out that the set plan called for finding out the locations of the weapons depots that are scattered throughout the capital. Details about the total number of workers in the capital were to be compiled from documents that had been seized with the help of the organization's vice president, whose promotion to lieutenant general had been a ruse. Afterwards, the number, kind and location of remote and close range communications devices were to be learned--these are devices like those used by U.S., East German and Soviet intelligence. Then after it was learned that the number of officers on the organization's staff exceeded the number of officers in the armed forces by 1,000--there are 7,000 in the organization and 6,000 in the armed forces, and that is officers only and does not include non-commissioned officers, soldiers and technicians--in short, after all the details about the State Security Organization were learned, military intelligence was notified immediately. Swift action was taken, and military men in the Security Organization were arrested, as well as politicians in the Socialist Union, ministers, advisers and ministers of state. They were arrested in their homes.

## Eight in State Security Organization Dead

While the main building of the State Security Organization was being surrounded by armored vehicles and paratroopers, there was an exchange of fire, and eight snipers with the State Security Organization died instantly. The two forces seized the weapons and arrested all the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers who were inside the building, and they released the physicians and attorneys who had been arrested during the demonstrations that were held on Wednesday and Thursday, April 3 and 4. They were the last detainees, and they were considered hostages after organization members learned what had happened to their colleagues who were killed when the building was raided and surrounded.

Ordinary people who started the revolution against the former regime knew nothing about these matters. Every possible thought came to their minds, and they misjudged the new military leaders. They thought those leaders were an extension of the former president's administration or, at best, acting on his behalf.

## Distributing Weapons Depots in Strategic Areas

My source added, "Do you know that we found a warehouse full of weapons in the Abu Ruf area in Omdurman? Would you believe that the weapons we found there filled eight military Magirus trucks? Do you know what kinds of weapons we found there? Never before had I ever seen such weapons! Would anyone believe that military intelligence had no idea how those weapons got there, where they came from or why?" Then the source added, "Documents showed that the State Security Organization in the capital alone had eight battalions trained to use such weapons. The new command also received notices from the organization's vice president telling them that there was another number of depots full of such weapons. There was one on Africa Street; another on al-Jumhuriyah Street; a third in al-Shajarah neighborhood in Khartoum south; a fourth in (al-Drushab); and a fifth in (Budnubawi). But no trace was found of the latter because it was

under the authority of Abu al-Hasan Khalil, Numayri's brother-in-law and cousin. He is also a major general in the State Security Organization. Intelligence personnel searched his office in the large hotel and found a machine gun. But he and his children had traveled on the same airplane with the president and, naturally, they did not come back after the regime fell.

#### Barrels of Foreign Currency!

What astonished me is that while military intelligence personnel were looking for weapons and men, they found barrels--their numbers are still undetermined--full of dollars, pounds sterling, Deutschmarks, Swiss francs and French francs. These barrels were found in the organization's main offices and in the weapons depots in the area of al-Shajarah. The survey also showed that the organization had a fleet of 4,000 sedans, and that does not include pick-up trucks, buses, cars that are operated as taxicabs, Jeeps and Landrovers. Documents proved that the organization had a warehouse for fuel with fuel to last Sudan for 8 months. The person who told me that may have meant that the amount of fuel in storage was enough for the organization's use for 8 months, but only God knows what he meant!

#### About 500 Flee from the Organization to an Unknown Destination

My private sources indicated that about 500 officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers who worked for the organization in the provinces were able to flee in the organization's cars. They took with them various kinds of deadly weapons and modern communications devices. It is being said that a citizen picked up a radio communication with a neighboring country that is not friendly with the new regime, but he did not provide more informative details about that communication. There is no explanation for that mystery except to say that the country, which is not friendly to the new regime, is neither Ethiopia nor Libya. The hostility these two countries bore for the previous regime needs no evidence.

#### Conclusion

I want to conclude this analytical report by saying that God has been Merciful! He decreed the end of the previous regime, and He was Merciful with the people, with their army and their police; He did not want all of them to become victims of the former president's greed.

It behooves me to say that had it not been for God's care and mercy and had not the army managed to control the situation at the right time, a massacre would have happened. A massacre would have happened, and Numayri would have stayed in power with his security men, his special troops, his dollars and the members of his family. There is a simple reason for that, and we will re-state it here: the army was unarmed! The only soldiers who carried weapons were those stationed on the borders between Sudan and Ethiopia to oppose John Garang's troops.

8592

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TUNISIA

BRIEFS

AUTHORIZED SOURCE ON SECURITY INCIDENT--Tunis, 29 Apr (TAP)--Following certain information referring to the forces of order having surrounded Mohamed Ali Square in Tunis on Saturday, an authorized source has affirmed that this version of the facts is entirely erroneous. The same source affirms that security measures have been taken to ensure the free flow of traffic, which had been held up by frequent gatherings of crowds [attroupements] and to guarantee the protection of commercial premises at the demand of their proprietors, and the tranquility of the citizens. One representative of the forces of order was injured and admitted to a hospital after a stone was thrown as he was getting ready to speak to a person acting suspiciously. The person spoke Arabic with a non-Tunisian accent and was preparing to take photographs and to record shouting and slogans. In addition, the same source recalled that access to the headquarters of the General Union of Tunisian Workers and the freedom of assembly within its premises have remained free. [Text] [Tunis TAP in French 1300 GMT 29 Apr 85]

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ISRAEL

## ARAB WORKERS, HISTADRUT ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 17 Mar 85 p 6

[Article by Qasem Zayid: "Half Tea - Half Coffee"]

[Text] The Histadrut election campaign, as it approaches, falls at a time of great economic hardship. The Arab workers always have been and have remained the first victims of a wave of lay-offs. In view of the difficult situation, the Arab workers seem to be helpless, with hundreds and thousands of them expelled from their places of employment. It is difficult for them to find alternate places of employment.

The Histadrut leadership must--not because of the election campaign--fight the battle of its Arab members, who comprise--like all the weak classes--the soft belly of the Israeli economy. In order to dull the sting of unemployment in the Arab settlements, the leadership of the Histadrut has had to be asked to assist its Arab members, to ease their distress, to stand up for their rights, and not to leave them prey to unemployment, discouragement and frustration.

I must admit, despite the disappointment of Arab members of the Histadrut with the weak handedness which the management of the Histadrut has shown towards them, by not doing enough to guarantee steady, regular places of work in the Arab settlements and not establishing Histadrut industry, the Histadrut is still considered almost the only institution in the country which has done more than any other institution to integrate Arab members in its institutions.

In a discussion which took place a few months ago in the Jewish-Arab Center at Beit Berl, in which several Arab intellectuals participated, they admitted that the Histadrut was and remains the only institution which made a great contribution to integrating the Arab members in the life of the country.

The inclusion of three Arab members to the central coordinating committee, which is considered the government of the Histadrut, should not be taken lightly. The matter has specific significance, beyond the numerical. Over time several Arab members have occupied key positions in the various institutions of the Histadrut.

Heads do not have to be lowered at the status of Nawwaf Mesalta, member of the Central Committee of the Histadrut, Chairman of the Department for Arab Workers' Committees, which is part of the Worker's Councils Division. The bureau for industrialization of Arab villages in the Workers' Corporation is also directed by Yusuf Qura and Mahmud Yunis. It is true that this bureau is still in diapers and has not yet been given the opportunity to take its first steps on the path to industrialization of the Arab village. Together with this, and in comparison with the government--which has not yet seen fit to absorb educated Arabs into key positions--this is no small matter. Moreover, over the past years about 80 Arabs have been accepted to Histadrut institutions in Arab villages. In several settlements Histadrut offices have been built, as well as Histadrut medical facilities, and the hand is still outstretched; this is, in fact, the half full cup in the Arab sector.

### The Empty Half

The half empty part of the cup raises anger and disappointment amongst Arab Histadrut members. Over the years the Arab members displayed loyalty to the Labor Party in the Histadrut. In the Histadrut elections they always voted in favor of the Labor Party. In no small measure the success of the Labor Party in maintaining a majority in the Histadrut is due to them. All the talk and nationalist songs of the Communist Party did not move the hearts of the Arab Histadrut members.

The Arab members think and even say, that despite their bitterness and dissatisfaction with the Histadrut leadership, they refuse to provide ammunition to the Communist party, in order to weaken the Labor Party leadership in the Histadrut. Hundreds of thousands of Arab members in the Histadrut have said, as one, that they must not take part in the game of verbal one-upmanship and thus cause weakening of the Labor Party leadership of the Histadrut.

The unambiguous conclusion is, that the Arab members see the Histadrut as their home and it is absolutely forbidden that its foundations be shaken.

### The Moral Duty

The moral duty of the Histadrut was and remains to return a favor to its Arab members. The Histadrut leadership must not see in its Arab members a milk cow, without providing it the necessary nourishment. If this relationship with the Arab workers continues, the day may not be distant when the Histadrut leadership will have to admit and regret a sin, and too late.

Since we are now at the height of the election campaign to the Histadrut it is the duty of the leadership of the Labor Party to take some revolutionary steps and procedures vis-a-vis the Arab members. In a meeting which the Secretary General of the Histadrut, Yisra'el Qeysar, held with active Arab members of the Histadrut, he called upon Arab members to depend on his visiting card and to express the required confidence.

True, there is nothing to be ashamed about in the new Secretary's visiting card, as he stubbornly carries out the battle of the workers of Israel, but this is not enough. The Histadrut Secretary General, and all of the Histadrut executive, know beyond any doubt, that the Arab members of the Histadrut are lagging behind their Jewish colleagues by far. They do not enjoy the same level of service that Jewish Histadrut members receive. In the course of things it was proven that the workers' company has not yet shown interest or involvement in the industrialization of the Arab village. The agricultural center is still closed and barred for Arab farmers.

In the management of Histadrut institutions, such as the Bank HaPoalim, the Qupat Cholim management, Solel-Boneh, and other institutions, the Arab members are still not represented. The number of Arab employees in Histadrut concerns is almost negligible. It is a pipedream to think that in this situation the Arab employees will be convinced to massively support the Labor Party, as they did in previous elections.

#### Difficult Opponents

Anyone versed in the way of matters on the Arab street, knows that in the present campaign, there are difficult, tough opponents in the ring, who are going to fight for every vote.

The Communist Party, which in the last election was weak-handed and not particularly hostile to the Labor party, is this time flexing its muscles. The Communist Party, which is actually the first party to grease its election machine, does not hesitate this time to throw garbage at the Histadrut leadership. The party newspaper "al-Ittihad (in Arabic) does not cease criticizing the Histadrut leadership and the Secretary General. The writers scathingly criticize the inaction of the Histadrut in the Arab streets. Recently one of the Communist leaders expressed himself thus: "We will conquer the workers' council in Nazareth just like we took city hall ten years ago." This is the first time that the Communist Party has raised this slogan and no doubt will take all measures in an attempt to achieve this goal.

Those in the know are not surprised by this muscle-flexing by the Communist Party. They know that the Communist Party feels that its standing has weakened in the Arab street which means that they must confront opponents in the Arab street, and principally the Labor Party. This is in order to prove that it is still the strongest party on the Arab street.

The Communist Party has another reason for flexing its muscles: the weakening of the Progressive List for Peace. "Running" on the list for Histadrut elections, impells the Communist Party to appear in full upsurge, in order to prove that it is stronger than the Progressive list. The decision of the Progressive list to "run" on its own list in the Histadrut election also should worry and light a red light for the Histadrut leadership. The results of the election to the 11th Knesset show that most of the votes the Progressive list received were at the expense of the Labor Party and not at the expense of the Communist Party.

I do not mean to claim that the Progressive list will sweep a great number of votes in the Histadrut election, but it will certainly bite off a significant number of votes, the majority of which will be at the expense of the Labor Party. From here it is possible to determine that the path of the Labor Party in the present election is not strewn with roses. I again must unequivocally state that the Labor Party must gather its strength and guts. It must repent its sins and admit the bitter truth, that it has not done enough to involve the Arab members amongst it. Admission of the truth, in my humble opinion, is half the truth. It would somehow ease the feelings of the Arab members.

In order to achieve complete truth, they must come out with a clear plan, along with a commitment to realize this plan, in actuality, within a few years.

This plan must not be half tea and half coffee. It must answer the just needs and demands and deep longings of the Arab members.

9182

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## ISRAEL

## NEW DEBATE ON IDF'S DETERRENCE CAPABILITY

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew Mar 85 p 7

[Article by Reuven Pedahzur: "The Epoch of an End to Deterrence"]

[Text] Geographic, Demographic and Economic Factors are Liable to Bring An End to the Deterrence Ability of the IDF; An Approach Which Ignores the Influence of the Time Factor on the Question of Quality and Quantity - is Dangerous

One of the principle foundations on which the State of Israel's military perception is based is the IDF's deterrence ability. The challenge which has faced those shaping the character of the army was building up a deterrence capability that would cause the Arab countries to avoid starting a war, even if conditions initially seemed favorable to them.

The general accepted solution of Israel's defense policy makers has been that quality will prevail over quantity.

There is double danger in this perception. First, it assumes that the quality advantage of the IDF is a given factor, which will remain unchanged for many years. Second, this approach ignores the decisive influence of the time factor on the question of quantity and quality. "World military history teaches that in a long-lasting war, it is the quantity which will eventually win, unless it is faced, from the side of quality, with a necessary quality," writes Aluf Mishneh (Col) Avraham Ayalon in an article which was published in an excellent new anthology, "Quality and Quantity," from "Ma'arachot" Publishing.

Col Ayalon claims that Israel first sensed this historic truth during the Yom Kippur War, when during the first days of the war Israel's quality air force and regular army were too small to stand up to the massive enemy forces.

Many people consider the operations of the Israeli air force in the war in Lebanon to be a winning proof of the qualitative superiority of the IDF, which strengthens the hand of those who argue that the qualitative gap is so wide that there is no danger of losing it in the future. Without taking away from the part played by Israeli pilots and their operational level,



most of the success of the air force's activities in the Lebanese skies should actually be attributed to the Command and Control System. This system carried out constant close contact and at any given minute drew a clear picture of the air battlefield. A large portion of the Syrian threats to our planes were discovered in time by the Control system of our air force, which consisted, according to the newsweekly, "Flight," of both ground units and airborne control units flown by Hawkeye and Boeing 707 planes.

The IDF's airborne deterrence system was definitely superior to that of the Syrians. Also, this system made it possible to direct Israeli planes toward the Syrian planes long before their pilots were able to read the battle picture.

An additional factor which contributed to the air force's success was the technological superiority of its planes over the Syrian planes. The air force's fighter planes were equipped with advanced air to air missiles capable of hitting enemy planes from the front end and from a range of up to 7 kilometers. The combination of a superior Command and Control system together with the superiority of the Israeli air force's planes and missiles, in many cases made it possible to bring down Syrian planes before their pilots had any eye or radar contact with our planes.

However, the ability to preserve this quality gap is liable to slip from our hands due to developments in the Arab armies. Both Jordan and Syria are in the process of building advanced command and control systems. In the coming years, their methods of operation will be improved and these two countries will acquire skill in operating sophisticated command and control systems. It must be understood that with all the impressive technological advancements, there is not always room for unlimited improvement of quality. Thus, the significance of there being similar command and control systems in Israel and over the border, means a decrease in the qualitative advantage which we now possess.

Apart from all of these, the various Arab armies have begun acquiring advanced western fighter planes, identical to those being flown in Israel. The Egyptian air force already flies 40 F-16's and has ordered 40 additional planes of this model and 20 Mirage 2000's. The Saudi air force has 60 F-15's, and it should be assumed that in the future the Jordanian air force will be equipped with quality planes of the F-16 model. The Syrian air force is equipped with 50 advanced fighter planes of models MIG 23 and MIG 25, and it is reasonable that in the future it will be equipped with more advanced Soviet planes (MIG 29, MIG 31).

The quality western planes in Arab armies are also equipped with advanced air to air missiles identical to those which the Israeli air force has. When a target can be hit at a distance of 7 kilometers, without a need to execute complicated close maneuvered air battles, the weight which is given to the factor of the individual quality of the pilot is greatly reduced.

The ability of the IDF to expand forces three major obstacles: the geo-strategic, the demographic, and the economic.

The geographic-topographic features of Israel dictate the size of its military force, according to Brig Gen (Reserves) Yosef Ma'ayan, who was previously Director General of the Ministry of Defense. Her small dimensions, her long land and sea borders and her narrow "hips" are a barrier to the quantity of the force. For example, it would be impossible to locate in Israel more than a limited number of military airfields. There is a minimum required size for every field, it must be far enough away from other fields and it must be out of range of enemy artillery. To this must be added the increased capacity of each field, and we receive a numerical datum which in fact comprises the limits of the size of the air force which we are able to maintain.

In the demographic realm, there is a limit to the maximum number of fighters which can be produced from the Jewish population of Israel. An example can be taken from the air force. The number of active fighter pilots is dictated by the yearly numbers drafted into the IDF. Only a small percent of those drafted possess the initial skills required to commence flight training, and only some of these actually volunteer for the airforce. A relatively small portion of these succeed in completing the course.

In the economic area, Israel today allocates about 25% of the gross national product to defense needs. This is a proportion not matched in any other country. The United States allocates, for example, only 6% of the gross national product to defense, and NATO member countries allocate up to 3.5%.

The defense budget is divided into a "maintenance budget," which preserves what already exists and finances regular activity of the IDF, and a "build up budget" for building up the force. Since the IDF was largely built up in the past, the "maintenance budget" today accounts for about 80% of the defense budget. As the IDF has grown more money has been required yearly to keep the force maintained, leaving fewer resources for developing the strength. If we recall that the prices of modern weapons systems become more expensive all the time, while the defense budget remains fixed or even decreases, then we will comprehend the significance of the economic barrier and its coercions.

The limitation of personnel which so troubles the ability and readiness of the IDF to expand, hardly troubles the Arab armies. Already today on the Eastern front alone (excluding Saudi Arabia and Egypt), there are 35 divisions and close to 2 million soldiers. This is three times the number of soldiers which Israel can draft. The eastern front countries are in possession of twice as many fighter planes as Israel, three times as many tanks, and six times as much artillery. If we add to these the 2400 Egyptian tanks, 2750 armored personnel carriers, 2100 artillery pieces, and 635 battle planes we can understand the type of challenge which the IDF's deterrence capability already faces.

The conclusion of all this is, that it is likely that in the not too distant future the IDF is liable to lose its deterrence capability against the Arab countries. Creation of an Arab coalition in such a case is liable to cause the IDF to face a challenge which it will not necessarily be capable of responding to with a suitable military response.

ISRAEL

POSSIBILITIES FOR SECURITY ZONE IN SOUTH LEBANON EXAMINED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Mar 85 p 13

[Article by Ze'ev Schiff: "With or Without the IDF"]

[Text] The Security Belt Will Not Resemble, Almost in Any Aspect, the Haddad Belt of Before the War.

The security belt along the length of the Israel-Lebanese border will not resemble almost in any aspect what we recall of the Haddad belt prior to the War in Lebanon. Just as Southern Lebanon is no longer the same country in its relations with us, the same applies to the section along the border which is intended to serve as a security belt. Here too changes have occurred as a result of the war and in its wake. We will note a few of these changes prior to relating to the debate on how the security belt will look in the future.

All the experts I have spoken with agree that the ethnic awakening which is going on amongst the Shi'is in Lebanon did not pass over the Shi'i villages that were intended to be included in the security belt. Most of the residents of the security belt will be Shi'ites. Their number will vary between 60,000 to 100,000 people, depending upon the extent of the belt. From an emotional and ideological standpoint, it is impossible to cut these off from the Shi'ites of the north. Despite their proximity to the Israeli border, many of them support the resistance movement and the guerrilla effort against the Israeli occupation.

As for the Christians, who are supposedly the more loyal element towards Israel, there is another problem. Amongst them changes have also taken place as a result of events after the war. They are trying to lower the profile of their contact with Israel. The failure of the IDF and other branches of the security forces which were active in the area to prevent injury to Lebanese who cooperated with Israel, has shocked many of the southern Christians. The Christians are much more cautious and some of their leaders today are standing back and waiting to see how things will turn out.

Neither the Christians nor the Shi'ites today face any danger from the Palestinians. In the present situation they therefore do not require

massive Israeli assistance. In the past, they had to depend on Israel in order to repulse the Palestinians who hit them. The problem today from their point of view is not the Palestinian danger but rather return of Lebanese sovereignty to their region of residence.

In the past Major Haddad claimed that he was a loyal and proud Lebanese even more so than many Lebanese living in the north of the country who accused him of cooperation with Israel. Today the nature of the struggle has changed. Then the foreigners were the Palestinians, today they are the Israelis. The struggle going on is for sovereignty and independence, which is bound up with many symbols for the residents of southern Lebanon, especially in the security belt. The opening conditions are not in Israel's favor, and it would be advisable to take this into account when we attempt to dictate the nature of the security belt in southern Lebanon.

The discussion of the security belt continues. Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Minister of Defense Yitzhaq Rabin are talking about withdrawing to the international border, but they have not clarified what "providing backup" to the local forces in the security belt means. Peres and Rabin have received the support of the majority of the upper ranks of the IDF. In opposition, there are those who are unable to release old conceptions. Among them are several Likud party ministers who still are pushing the idea of a great war in Lebanon without noticing them they are thus deepening the defeat. Several military people support them.

These people are thinking about a security belt in terms of concepts of Israeli units spread through the area or holding fortified sites. Their assumption is that the residents of the belt will accept the Israeli soldiers with more understanding than would their neighbors living 10 kilometers north, and if they do not accept - then we will force them to. These are people who see the situation in terms of black and white, and the responses are supposedly sharp and clear. Those who are prepared to withdraw to the international border face five principal questions. The answers will determine the nature of the security belt and the quality of the relations between Israel and the residents.

1. Will the IDF leave any units in the security belt?

2. What will be the quality of the relations and ties between Israel and the Army of Southern Lebanon; will we continue to maintain, to arm and to finance the Army of Southern Lebanon? Will we continue to maintain in the Southern Lebanese army instructors and advisors? What will be the borders of the belt which the Southern Lebanese Army will control, with or without the IDF?

3. What will be the quality of the relations between Israel and the security belt? Will we permit them to find employment in Israel after we withdraw to the international border as well? Will we assist the officers of the Southern Lebanese Army, with money and advice, in governing and managing an economic-administrative system in the security belt?

4. How will Israel react if after the official withdrawal the government of Lebanon decides to exercise sovereignty in the entire area and will want to send Lebanese army units up to the international border?

5. How will Israel react if the government of Lebanon asks the United Nations to send UNIFIL troop units south in order to fulfill its mandate up to the international border?

Anyone who wants Israel to stay and rule in the security belt as she today rules the belt farther north, must assume with certainty that the struggle for Lebanese sovereignty over the area will continue. Although continuation of the Shi'ite attacks on Israel after the withdrawal to the international border is not a certainty, there is no doubt that the attacks on our people will continue if the IDF openly remains in the security belt. It is certain that the extremist Shi'ites will be joined by more moderates among them as well. Even the moderates among them will not be able not to turn, as time goes on, against the IDF and Israel. The deterrents against joining the Army of Southern Lebanon will be greater and that army will have a greater and greater Christian nature. It is to be assumed that Washington would not like an open Israel military presence in the security belt either. She will claim that Israel promised to withdraw to the international boundary and that we have to keep our promise.

The alternative is withdrawal to the international border and the return of all the IDF units home. In the security belt there will be no Israeli presence--openly and in uniform. We will avoid any blaring presence, unless things occur that demand quick and comprehensive military action. This type of intervention will also be possible from the Israeli side of the border. Peres and Rabin support this type of approach and it has received support over the past two weeks.

It is reasonable to assume that the borders of the security belt will be different from those of the Haddad belt. This conclusion is reached by examining the area and taking into consideration the geographic-operational problems.

Up until 1982 the security belt ended at a line determined in the wake of the UNIFIL deployment. This will be the situation, for example, in the western sector. It is more problematic. This is the area where the belt must be given some depth. If a security belt is desired, it must include Ramat Arnon, from which many katyushas have been fired. Certainly hostile forces must not be permitted entrance to the Beaufort fortress. The Army of Southern Lebanon will have to control the two bridges on the Litani River--the Hardila and 'Akiya bridges. On the other hand it would not be recommended that it include the large Shi'ite concentration in the town of Nabatiah. Whoever controls Ramat Arnon can also control this town.

In the eastern sector, it depends how much importance the Army of Southern Lebanon will attribute to control of the Druze villages (in order to somewhat balance the Shi'ite majority) and on the roads leading from Fatahland to the Biqa.

In any case, if General Lahd wants to control the security belt, he will not be able to make do with only the area that Major Haddad had.

ISRAEL

## NEED FOR NEW DEFENSE STRATEGY

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 26 Mar 85 p 9

[Article by Zvi Timor: Defense Budget: Strategy Error Since 1967]

[Text] In view of the difficulties in financing the defense burden, and the inability of the State of Israel to withstand it from an economic point of view, several army people recently raised for reappraisal the matter of Israel's defense perception. In the Defense Department at "Yad Tabenkin" a group which does not number amongst the dovish side of the political map, Brig Gen (Reserves) Haim Yavitz raised the matter.

Yavitz rejects the defense concept developed in the 1950's, based on the perception of Ben Gurion, that the State of Israel does not have resistance strength, and thus a concept was developed of an offensive strategy of preventive war and anticipatory war, of quick decisiveness. In Brig Gen Yavitz's opinion, this doctrine suited conditions in Israel until 1967. "From that moment forward conditions in the sector totally changed--the defense doctrine remained in effect and we remained in error. From 1967 and up til today we are in total error," Yavitz emphasizes.

### The Breakthrough Myth

The military concept was based on breakthrough ability. In the wake of the Six Days War, tools were developed in all the armies of the world to stop the breakthrough ability, the quick movement, by artillery fire, anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles. Despite the change in the conditions in the sector, Israel doubled her mobile forces, her planes and tanks. The Yom Kippur War was also conducted according to the breakthrough myth. "We saw in the breakthrough the greatest possible heroism," writes Brig Gen (Reserves) Yavitz.

In the Lebanese War, the biggest mass of the IDF--the great armored forces--were stopped. Yavitz believes that the claim that political conditions stopped the IDF armored forces is no more than nonsense. The Syrians were not stopped by a political decision. Thus if the military lessons are not learned, "we will pay the price."

In his words, with the exception of the Sinai desert, on all the other fronts a "terrible wall" exists. In Syria there is an artificial and

natural barrier in various forms, at a depth of 70 kilometers. "The significance is, that a breakthrough in the most optimal conditions, the most sophisticated, one breakthrough will cost us at least 10,000 wounded, and two breakthroughs at least double that cost if not more, and the significance is that if we succeed in breaking through--we will have lost the war. We will have totally lost the war."

After Yavitz reaches the conclusion that the IDF cannot pay the price required for realizing the military strategy, he reaches an additional conclusion--that we have nothing to gain from execution of this strategy. The political conception which was behind the military strategy was to grab territory in order to use it as a political bargaining chip in negotiations. In today's situation, territory can no longer be used for a negotiating chip. In today's situation, "every conquest of one meter, from a political viewpoint, is not a bargaining card but a sick card...not a political asset, not for bargaining and not for anything."

Moreover, writes Brig Gen Yavitz, on the eastern and northern fronts there are areas inlaid with villages, "and woe to us if in this generation we again bring our soldiers to run Arab villages and put order into them. To again use the IDF as the Israeli Police Army, will be most serious." According to him, the soldiers in Lebanon totally do not understand what they are doing in the Arab villages and thus it is wrong to conquer territory.

Accordingly Yavitz recommends changing to a strikingly defensive strategy, in place of the offensive doctrine which could only bring about loss of the battle and a Pyrrhic victory. He recommends using defensive technologies and to stop running after quantitative growth, after masses of tanks and armored forces.

On this point the discussion ties in with the budgetary discussion. Every tank costs about 1.5 million dollars, and an additional similar amount to guarantee protection of the tank and its crew. "So why spend all our money on a platform like a tank?" asks Yavitz.

To Cease Production of the "Merkava" and to Give Up the "Lavi"

Israel cannot allow herself to compete with the great powers in building an airplane which is also an "iron platform." The most sophisticated self-produced airplane will not be more sophisticated than an American airplane. In any case 90% of the technology in the "Lavi" airplane is American. Yavitz also is of the opinion that the country could be saved a billion and a half dollars immediately, if we would decide that the national prestige and renown would not suffer were production of the "Merkava" to cease. In place of this it would be possible to acquire 250-300 M-1 tanks, which are no less good. The money allocated to the "Merkava" could be transferred in part to Research and Development and in part to healing the economy.

Yavitz's article still includes a number of contradictions and unfounded views, such as his disregard for agreements and formal peace situations as

well as his unwillingness to lower the profile of the conflict by ending the territorial conflict, which would make it possible to maintain a situation of peace for the foreseeable future. Yavitz is also unable to relinquish the perception which bases Israel's existence only on relative forces. By rejecting an agreed solution he rejects formally declared peace situations as an injurious factor. History in the world and in the Middle East proves that formal agreements and peace treaties create new dynamics of development.

#### To Lower the Reserves Age and to Raise Officers' Retirement Age

The topic of changing the defense perception and the national self attrition of Israel's "large" defense budgets also interests Lt Col (Reserves) Omri Tov.

The need to cut the defense budget is agreed upon by all who deal with the problems of the economy. According to him [Tov] there are a number of areas in which it is possible to make the defense system's operation more efficient, and to cut the economic cost of achieving given goals. "It is possible to make a significant reduction in the defense budget, along with an adjustment of two to at the most three years," determines Omri Tov.

For a long period it was assumed that the IDF was capable of creating military facts of long-term political significance. Omri Tov is skeptical of the validity of this assumption.

He also rejects the concept of an offensive striking force, and according to him the need for an internal majority consensus in the future will make it impossible to launch a preventive war or as in the example of the war in Lebanon, "the failure of this last war, in political terms, should for a long time serve to deter those planning to take similar steps."

According to Omri Tov, as a result of the trauma of Yom Kippur, a dimension of "assuming the worst" has been added, and this assumption was the cause of "increasing the quantitative dimensions of the IDF, beyond that required by the arms race itself." Lt Col Tov is of the opinion that the Israeli governments have been dragged into the trap of "national attrition" which expresses itself in all its severity in the economic realm: "freezing of a huge concentration of material and human resources in the defense system, with all its aspects, the collapse of the control system and civilian education, as a result of lack of budget funds, inflation which hurts every value and base and a growing deficit in the balance of payments, which endangers the country's ability to draft funds to cover its debts."

Omri Tov also tries to translate his principal findings into an operative program for efficiency, strengthening the fire component. Among other things he is of the opinion that the "ceiling age" for men's service in the reserves should be lowered from 54 to 45-50. This cut would decrease the burden on the population, which is the economic managerial backbone of the economy. The slogan "All the nation is the army" does not stand the test of the long-range needs of the State of Israel, in addition to



which for a long time there has been a feeling that this slogan is empty of content. On the other hand Omri Tov is of the opinion that the duration of service for officers should be lengthened to age 55, and that the concept of a second career should be abolished. In his opinion, the system under which 40-45 year-old officers retire from the army is burdensome. The IDF should also be charged for reserve days for their economic value, in order to improve the military's use of manpower.

The principal conclusion is that civilian control of the IDF and its budget must be increased. This supervision is partially carried out at present, principally by discharged IDF members, while today there are enough people whose area of expertise is not military who could serve as budgetary controllers for military doctrine, and for security conceptions.

In conclusion, Lt Col Tov also is of the opinion that the military budget must be reduced, as a result of a combination of greater efficiency, and changes in the security conception, which is dragging Israel into a process which is wearing, tiring, and dragged out.

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ISRAEL

# BROOKLYN IN SAMARIA - PROFILE OF 'IMMANU'EL

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 1 Mar 85 Weekend Supplement pp 6-7

[Article by Amnon Barzili: "Brooklyn in Samaria"]

[Text] "When we invited people for the cornerstone laying ceremony, they told me I was mad. You're going to bring Jews from Bnai-Brak, for whom Jabotinsky Street in Ramat-Gan is the end of the world, to Samaria, to an exposed hill 17 kilometers from Nablus?" Pinhas Arnreich, general manager of the firm Samaria Star, reminisces with pleasure about the reactions he received when he was establishing the religious town of 'Immanu'el. Today, less than 2 years since the first resident entered town, Arnreich, a school principal from Bnai-Brak, is considered a man of great vision and perspicacity. Rabbis from Jerusalem, Bnai-Brak and New York use the respected title "Genius Rabbi" before his name. The elected chairman of the 'Immanu'el council, Eli Merav, who recently embraced orthodoxy, talks about the "bells of Diaspora." The situation these days in 'Immanu'el is quite unique as compared with any other settlement and pioneer community.

'Immanu'el is not a Zionist outpost. For the first time since the advent of Zionism, even orthodox Jews worldwide have joined the forces working to settle the Land of Israel. The ironic part of it is that it is precisely the anti-Zionist Jewish groups who are implementing the most widespread settlement, which differs not only in scope from every other undertaking of its kind today, but may also overshadow the majority of settlements since the establishment of the state. And while Jews who define themselves as Zionists are emigrating from Israel, the settlement movement in 'Immanu'el is stimulating a rising immigration wave of Yeshiva students from New York and from other Jewish communities around the world. If the flood into 'Immanu'el does not halt suddenly--and according to reports it is steadily increasing--the orthodox world will likely be shaken when it finds that the demographic profile of Samaria has changed. There are already 5,000 people living in 'Immanu'el. In a few months, 'Immanu'el will be the largest Jewish community on the West Bank.

Right now, there are another 2,200 apartments in various stages of completion, and, according to projections, by the end of the fifth year (i.e., in 3 more years), 'Immanu'el will house 5,000 families. 'Immanu'el has already broken several records, some of them world records: the highest natural growth rate and the highest number of people per family. The average number of people per family in 'Immanu'el is 8.9. And a family scheduled to arrive from New York is about to break the local record for the most children--16. Based on the current average, by 1988 there will be more than 40,000 people living in 'Immanu'el. Within 8 years, that figure may rise to nearly 100,000. The planners further estimate that at the end of 15 years from the time the town was established, the population will number 200,000.

Due to ignorance, or perhaps for political reasons, the Gush Imunim settlers are counted with the 'Immanu'el group in various official references. There is no bigger mistake than this. 'Immanu'el was established not because of its location in Samaria, but despite this fact. The groups who settled the first religious settlement in the world were following in the footsteps of the pioneer Zionists who adopted the idea of rescuing Jews from their plight, but it was not physical woe in this case...rather the problems of housing for religious Jews that plagued them. The orthodox claimed that they were the main victims of runaway inflation in the state of Israel. These families, who followed the prescribed path of "be fruitful and multiply," could not acquire apartments given recent economic trends.

Due to the communal needs of this group--religious baths, kindergartens, schools, yeshivas, synagogues--on the one hand, and the high price of housing on the other, parents and their married children who relied on such community services, were forced to live under one roof. Within the religious community, depressing stories circulated about spiritual and family crises that arose because of this crowding and closeness, and because of the inability to study the scripture. The first and foremost incentive to establish 'Immanu'el was therefore to resolve the housing problem for the tens of thousands of orthodox Jews who were living under stressful conditions, under the sovereignty of the state of Israel, within the green line. 'Immanu'el's settlers are not idealists in the Zionist sense. They came due to their former living conditions, and the rewards have been twofold: Apartment prices are attractive and they can live in a religious framework.

#### Four Young Entrepreneurs

The town was started by four young entrepreneurs: Ya'akov Kaufman, Me'ir Mendel, Mordechai Zieser and Israel Hermetz, who hooked up with Baruch Sternhal, a businessman who had immigrated from Canada. That group eventually broke up and in their stead, Zalman Margolis joined the partnership. Margolis is an international businessman capable of turning over billions of dollars. The 'Immanu'el entrepreneurs established the firm "Samaria Star," with Arnreich as working manager.

The chairman of the management committee is Yosef Margoliot (the son of Margolis), who immigrated 10 years ago and had been living in Jerusalem. The managers of Samaria Star came up with a comprehensive, encompassing and bold idea, and presented to the government an approach which differed from that of other entrepreneurs working in Samaria: They requested ownership of all the land within the defined borders of the settlement they wanted to establish, and during the first stage they bought 6,000 dunams to start 'Immanu'el.

At a press conference conducted in February 1983, Arnreich said that they bought the land at a price of "next to nothing" according to the following division: 70 percent state property and the rest from Arabs. But the firm paid the state only five percent of the value of the land purchased. By buying up all the land, Samaria Star prevented price speculation in comparison to other settlements in Samaria. The firm, as the principal entrepreneur and planner of 'Immanu'el, awarded contracts for construction work to contractors via open bids. Competition among contractors during the negotiation period, explains Oded Alon, one of the managers of Samaria Star, forced the contractors to lower their prices and to be satisfied with very low profit margins as compared with other settlements in Samaria. About a month ago, Alon prepared a document comparing apartment prices in 'Immanu'el with prices for the "Tzavta" project in Alfe-Menashe. In 'Immanu'el, prices were on the average 20 percent lower. For example, a 4-room apartment with an area of 98.5 square meters cost \$50,800. The buyer pays \$25,800 in cash and the rest in 37 installments of \$395 a month. A villa with 5 and 1/2 rooms and an area of 165 square meters (on 400 square meters of land), costs \$99,000 of which only \$55,000 is paid in cash. The rest is paid in 30 monthly installments of \$1,500. A plan to build 4 and 5 room cottages at prices of \$60,000-\$67,000 is under discussion. Again, half the price would have to be paid in cash, the rest in installments.

Sales exceeded all expectations and the idea of building a town to provide services exclusively for the religious became known to all the orthodox rabbis. Rabbi Moshe Feinstein of New York sent a typical communication to his fold: "The genius Rabbi Pinhas Arnreich and the genius Rabbi Yosef Margoliot came to me from Israel and told me about the new town they are building in the land of Israel, in the hills of Samaria, which they call 'Immanu'el. And I was very happy to hear that with God's help, it will be blessed and a town will be built, a new city in Israel, completely for those who have seen God and abide by his laws. I was especially pleased to hear that the initial building included the spiritual needs of the residents, since a most beautiful ritual bathhouse was built first, as well as several synagogues and study centers, torah schools and yeshivas. Nor did they forget the need to earn a living. So they came here and to other countries to work with businessmen toward building factories and other enterprises to support the residents of this place. I also want to emphasize the extreme importance of the virtue of settling the land of Israel,

especially the settling of a town full of the torah and the fear of God, for it will be blessed. Thus I turn to our brothers, sons of Israel, and ask that those who are thinking about emigrating to Israel give careful consideration to the possibility of settling in this important town. Also, those who with God's blessing already live in the land of Israel, who for whatever reason are thinking of changing apartments, should look carefully into the possibility of settling in this holy place."

The seal of approval given by American rabbis and Hassidic rabbis around the world gave the town a flying start. Twenty percent of 'Immanu'el's residents are new immigrants, mostly from the United States. Akiva Hahn (38), originally from California and an environmental designer by profession, returned to orthodoxy about 10 years ago and immigrated with his wife and 5 children. He is working in 'Immanu'el as a gardener. In the very near future, his brother, still serving a stint in the American Navy, will also be immigrating to 'Immanu'el. On Sunday of this week, another orthodox family with five children came through 'Immanu'el to inquire about purchasing an apartment. The family had immigrated to Israel from Holland one week before. The husband first acquired an option to operate a restaurant in town. He hopes to have a second restaurant within a few months and then to build his house in 'Immanu'el.

#### Livelihood and Transportation

The two major problems that troubled the town's founders were finding sources of income and transportation lines for the residents. Without transportation, said Zalman Margolis, we won't survive. The firm turned to the Ministry of Transportation and the two transportation cooperatives, Dan and Eged, to ensure that from 6 am until midnight there would be a bus every hour to Jerusalem, Bani-Brak, Petah Tigva, Tel Aviv and other urban centers in Samaria. Representatives of the transportation companies saw the people of 'Immanu'el as crazy. When it became clear that the transportation authorities were not treating their request seriously, Margolis taught them the power of money. Samaria Star bought half the shares of a travel company called "Kfar Saba Express," which owns a fleet of buses, tour buses, mini-buses and cars for leasing. For months, that company's buses transported 'Immanu'el's first residents. That was the time required to persuade Dan and Eged. The fear of losing their monopoly and the transformation of Samaria Star's travel company into a competitor in Samaria, convinced the cooperatives to meet the needs of 'Immanu'el's settlers. From that day forth, Dan and Eged buses have been running 28 lines every hour from 'Immanu'el to all parts of Israel.

The need for sources of income was indirectly solved by the state of Israel. For some reason, the state decided that yeshiva students in 'Immanu'el would receive higher tuition awards. A youth studying in a

yeshiva in Jerusalem receives \$250 a month. A youth in 'Immanu'el lives on \$350, paid from state coffers via the financial pipelines guaranteed by Agudat-Israel. There are already nine yeshivas in 'Immanu'el, with 150 students among them, all with families. About 60 breadwinners work in education (teachers and kindergarten staff) and receive their salaries from state funds. About 200 live directly off state funds. On the rest, there is no data, but it appears that they work in Jerusalem or on the coast.

The condition that is inhibiting further growth in 'Immanu'el is the lack of additional sources of income for the residents. Five kilometers from the residential area, industrial centers are planned. Arnreich is talking about high tech industries and about three licenses that will be given to residents in the near future.

But in Samaria Star, an even greater priority is being given to tourist industries. 'Immanu'el, as a religious city in the land of Israel, in the very heart of flowering Samaria, has its own special tourist potential. The large town will be situated on two hills connected by a bridge. The two hills are surrounded by a nature preserve with an area of 60,000 dunams. Not far from 'Immanu'el, the ruins of a city from the Mishna period were found, and one plan is to build a historic village. The city would attract hundreds of wealthy orthodox Jews in the world who would go there on vacation. Oded Alon, who also heads up the company's tourist branch, has worked out a detailed plan for the implementation of 97 projects over the next 15 years, with a total investment of \$150 million. In the weeks to come, the firm will announce nine plans which are scheduled for implementation over the next 3 years, requiring a total investment of \$24 million. Among the projects that have been mentioned is an artificial lake covering 60 dunams of the valley between the two hills, a "water park" on a 30 dunam tract, two swimming pools (one for men, one for women), a hotel and a recreation village. Due to the high natural growth rate (200 births since the town was established), a maternity center will also be built. One suggestion has been to build a hospital for plastic surgery for residents from abroad. Other suggestions have included a zoo, a conference center and senior citizens homes. According to Alon, they have already received proposals from 10 Jews from abroad who are ready to invest up to \$5 million.

The fact that only 2 years have past since the town was established engenders the feeling that 'Immanu'el's founders are quite capable of fulfilling their dreams. This process, it appears, has been aided by the economic backing of Zalman Margolis, who, it is estimated, has already invested millions of dollars in the town. His son Yosef hides behind the words "with God's help" and refuses to explain the secret behind 'Immanu'el's success. It is a town perhaps unlike any other in the western world. There are no television antennas on the rooves of the houses, because there are no television sets in the homes of the

residents of 'Immanu'el, in keeping with their simple tastes. It is also, apparently, the only town in the world that does not and will not have a movie theater, amusement centers or theaters. Due to this religiosity, 'Immanu'el has become a refuge for orthodox Jews, a town where children speak Yiddish among themselves. It is a town, in the words of council chairman Eli Merav, that offers every Jew the "chance of leaving the slums of New York or the ghetto to live a real life of quality in a town that is completely religious."

As Jews who are not Zionists, the founders of 'Immanu'el must confront the question of what will happen if Samaria is returned to Jordan. Pinhas Arnreich once said in a newspaper interview that 'Immanu'el would continue to exist even under Jordanian control. The willingness to live alongside Arab neighbors in peace and tranquility is one of the main differences between 'Immanu'el and Gush-Emunim. Today, Arnreich has elaborated on his reply in keeping with the spirit of the times: "Samaria will not be returned, it cannot be. Do I want Husayn? Why would I need him? It is not realistic. I told one of the Alignment's ministers: You want to make a coalition with him and maintain all your options. We do not want a coalition with Husayn. We are forming a coalition with Eretz Israel."

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ISRAEL

# TIME BOMB: ARAB WORKERS FROM THE TERRITORIES IN TEL AVIV

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 22 Mar 85 Tel Aviv Supplement pp 1-2

[Article by Eli Danon: "A Time Bomb"]

[Text] The explosive charge found this week hidden among large gas containers on Lewinsky Street brought the blood to boil among the Tel Aviv district police about the thousands of minority members in the city. The explosive charge was discovered shortly before it was due to go off, and only thus were victims and property damage avoided.

Residents of the houses close to the hiding place of the explosive said that hundreds of Arabs pass every day along Lewinsky St., and that many of them live in small factories and workshops in the area.

The police staged a large sweep and arrested some 150 minority members in the Lewinsky area and the Central Bus Station. After taking their particulars and fingerprints, the police released them.

None of the police or government officials knows exactly the number of Arabs from Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza who work or spend time in Tel Aviv, or who commit offences there. No one took the trouble of seriously verifying this, although it is assumed that they are in the thousands. It is true that the police and the border guards do try to keep their eyes open, but there is no body that keeps track of the constant flow of Arabs from the territories to Tel Aviv, which offers occasional work in restaurants and steak houses, markets and construction, cleaning and other jobs.

Police figures put the maximum number of Arabs from the territories beyond the Green Line who are found during the week in the Tel Aviv area at 80,000. Even half that number would constitute a very large camp, posing social, safety, and security problems.

There is no doubt that the great majority of the Arabs from the territories who work in Tel Aviv are wretched laborers who represent no criminal, moral or security threat. Any generalization in this respect is unfair, unjust, and incorrect. Guilt and greed must not be allowed to cloud a real problem.

"Thousands of Arabs from the territories are in the Tel Aviv area, under almost no supervision; this constitutes an explosive situation that may well



blow up one day, and some people say it is only a matter of time. We must watch them and know where they are. Currently there is nothing but chaos in this respect. There is a conspiracy of silence," openly states one high ranking officer of the Tel Aviv District Police, "to hide the fact that the Arabs from the territories have been a real criminal factor in the Tel Aviv area in recent years."

The labor market of metropolitan Tel Aviv receives thousands of Arabs from the territories with open arms but with tightly held purses. They provide cheap and undemanding labor, and have almost no social or other rights.

The investigations officer of the Tel Aviv District Police, Deputy Superintendent Ya'akov Jafe, is perhaps the only one who took the trouble to examine in greater detail the presence of Arabs from the territories in Tel Aviv. In a document that he prepared and forwarded to the higher police authorities, he sounded the alarm about the increasing involvement of Arabs in property and sex crimes, and in prostitution.

Deputy Superintendent Jafe says: "Arabs from the territories are involved in half of the property crimes committed in the district. Each second television set stolen from our houses finds a new home in the markets of Gaza and Bet Lehem. They cooperate with Israeli criminals. Some 20 percent of those arrested on suspicion of burglary perform 50 percent of crimes against property; I am now referring to arrests of Arabs from the territories."

Deputy Superintendent Jafe admits that the police are not capable of watching the thousands of Arabs found in the Tel Aviv district. "This is an almost impossible mission. They change jobs very often. Various business owners and employers do not cooperate with the police and do not report their workers, perhaps for fear that the information may reach the internal revenue authorities. This is an example of Israelis caring more for their pocket than for their security..."

Aside from being involved in crime in Tel Aviv, some of the Arabs from the territories have been connected to terrorist actions. Two such incidents, which miraculously failed to claim victims, occurred in recent months on very close dates: in one case, a hand grenade was thrown from the Tel Aviv wholesale market on a Dan bus passing through the bus stop; 4 of the bus passengers were slightly injured. In the other case, an ostentatious action was planned against the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv. Arabs from Gaza, employed in Tel Aviv, were involved in both cases.

The Yarkon district police made an attempt at keeping a file on the Arabs from the territories residing in the area; however, the data that the police managed to gather were merely a drop in the bucket. "There are too many of them. It is now already too late to start watching them and putting them on file. In point of fact, they constitute a male city within the city, and Tel Aviv offers temptations that they cannot resist." says the police.

Deputy Superintendent Jafe: "Some of them have molested little girls and boys. Some have been known to roam in public parks and masturbate in front of women. There have been cases of little girls baited and molested."

Arabs from the territories have been pimping along the Tel Baruch coast, which is the fertile and active beat of Jewish prostitutes. They put the Jewish prostitutes to work, and take their money to buy drugs or keep their families.

Despite the fact that the law forbids Arabs from the territories to be within the Green Line between 1 and 5 am, many of them can be found between those hours at their work place or in some quarters close to it. The law is not properly enforced, and the police do not have the authority to arrest Arabs apprehended without a permit from the military governor of their area authorizing them to be within the Green Line between 1 and 5 am.

Deputy Superintendent Jafe: "This issue has been under discussion for years. We are waiting for the government legal adviser to delegate the attorney general to delegate the police to arrest Arabs spending the hours between 1-5 am within the Green Line. Since we do not have the authority to arrest them for an offence they are actually committing, we check them less thoroughly and policemen are insufficiently motivated to deal with them; and that at a time of a particular and dangerous security atmosphere. The Arabs from the territories are aware of the legal quandary in which the police finds itself and are taking advantage of it."

Thousands of Arabs from the territories live anywhere in the city, be it even a dark and dirty hole where they can lay their head down and warm up coffee. In most cases they live in disgraceful conditions, sleeping inside vegetable stands in the market, in run-down shelters, crowded in apartments without sanitary conditions, just so they do not have to return home at the end of a 10-14 hours day of work, only to be back again in the early hours of the morning.

Recently, they have begun renting apartments even in the prestigious areas of North Tel Aviv. "There are Jews who do not ask many questions when they see money, especially "greenbacks." Even when the owner knows that in the night Ahmad will bring home another 30 friends and turn his 3 rooms into a hotel. When there are so many sleeping in such a small and crowded place, it is easy to get together hundreds of dollars a month for rent, and all sides are happy," says the police about the new penetration of Arabs from the territories into apartment houses in the heart of Tel Aviv.

The largest "hotel" of the Arabs from the territories in Tel Aviv is the wholesale market on the Hashmona'im St. Hundreds of young Arabs spend their nights in the market where the hand grenade was thrown on the bus. They sleep in fruit and vegetable stores and in basements.

The stores do not serve as lodgings only for those working there, but also for their friends employed elsewhere, and there is partying almost every night in the market basements. "They do not lack for food; they have everything and then some... There are prostitutes who come into the market at night and leave with fat bundles of money after a few hours of work," says one police officer, who admits that these nocturnal activities are very seldom investigated.

On the night the hand grenade was thrown from inside the market, 100 young Arabs, who had locked themselves inside the stores, were arrested within a

very short time. "The really guilty ones are the Jewish employers who support and shelter them, without reporting them to the police," the police officer added.

Large quantities of stolen property were discovered more than once during police raids on the wholesale market. The men try to smuggle the objects to the territories on the week-end, when they go home. They sometimes load stolen property on an Israeli taxi, in the hope that the police at roadblocks will not stop or search too thoroughly a taxi with Israeli license plates.

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ISRAEL

## SHALE OIL PROJECT IN NEGEV

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 26 Mar 85 Business Supplement pp 14-16

[Article by Shelomo Giv'on: "Getting Oil from Rocks"]

[Text] The minister of energy and resources, Moshe Shahal, "tossed out the news at the recent meeting of the Nuclear Association at the Ben-Gurion University in Be'er Sheva, like a magician who pulls a rabbit out of a hat with calculated indifference: "We have an attractive proposal from an American investor who produces electricity in Texas, and who wants to build an electrical power facility burning shale oil here. He estimates the investment involved in the project at about \$200 million. We are examining the proposal in all its aspects and terms. Naturally, the American investor will not build the project for free or from purely Zionist motives. He of course expects profits from the sale of the electricity to local consumers. The day is perhaps not far when our electrical company will have to study the possibility of purchasing electricity for a cooperative, instead of producing it as has been the case till now..." stated Minister Moshe Shahal.

The audience--made up of members of the nuclear community of Israel--listened without visible signs of excitement. Either they had already heard enough such news, or were too "set" on building nuclear power plants--a topic to which much of the meeting was devoted.

Whatever the case, the matter of Israel's oil shale popped up unexpectedly in the context of other energy subjects. The question is: what can be derived, if anything, from the shale oil? Where are they located, and what are their contents? And what has been done so far in this area?

People who have not been any farther south than the sand dunes of Ashdod but claim to know the country, may be surprised, upon coming to the Rotem Plain near Arad, to see an outsized installation, tens of meters in height, that produces a deafening noise and a lot of smoke when in action. Several workers run about around it. Once in a while a tractor comes, picks up a mound of grey stones, and tosses them into a crusher standing next to the large installation.

"This is the experimental installation, our 'pilot', in which we perform various tests to find out the specific characteristics of the Israeli shale oil,"

says Yossi Yerushalmi, the director general of PAMA. "Oil shale can be exploited in two ways: by direct burning, like coal, or by heating the shale and thus extracting from it the organic substance known as 'carogen,' from which an oil-like liquid is derived..."

#### Bedouins Had Already Discovered Them

An apparently simple story, but it turns out that in Israel there are not simple stories. We can perhaps comfort ourselves with the thought that similar technological projects are not any easier to implement abroad, either except for one difference: investment problems are nowhere as thorny as in Israel.

That is shale oil in Israel is not a new discovery. Their existence has been known for scores of years, even if no one took the trouble to find out what exactly they are and what they contain. The Bedouins living in the desert areas, both in the Negev and around Ma'ale Adumim, have been known to burn shale oil in their tents in winter to chase away the night chills. They most probably had no idea why those strange grey stones should burn.

Already at the beginning of the 1950's Israeli scientists conducted small-scale experiments with those stones, about which miracles had been reported. The stones were found to resemble chalk stone. Laboratory tests revealed that the stones, found in deposits almost throughout the country, but in large quantities particularly in the Negev, contain 15 percent organic matter (remains of plants dating back tens of millions of years), and the rest anorganic matter and water trapped in the fossilization process.

Only in 1976 was the energy potential of shale oil passed on to the "Israeli Chemicals," whose deputy director general, Dr Max Reiss, set up a small team of researchers from the Israeli Mining Industries, which is the research company of Israeli Chemicals.

A thorough and extensive study was first carried out, which included, among other things, drawing maps of the areas where shale oil deposits are found. Until then it had been assumed that shale oil resources made up at the most 2 billion tons. More detailed geological studies showed, however, that the deposits were five times greater, up to 10 billion tons, a quantity which is the equivalent of 500 million tons oil and some 140 million tons other energy products.

#### A Serious Professional Body

Over 70 percent of the oil shales are found in the Negev, especially in the Rotem Plain near Arad, close to the Dimona-Sedom road; two other deposits are in the Zin and Oron area, where the Negev phosphate plants are located. Despite the fact that the areas in which the deposits are located are far away, they also feature a developed industrial infrastructure, featuring roads, electrical power, and a railway, and are in the neighborhood of the towns Be'er Sheva, Dimona, Arad, and Yeroham.

In 1977 a small 'pilot' station was built under the research department of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to test again the potential of the shale oil. The study was carried out by researchers from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Haifa Technological Institute.

Two years later, in 1979, Dr Reiss came to the conclusion that a more serious body is required to assume responsibility for and to promote the shale oil study project. He approached refineries and oil companies in Israel and received positive answers. His idea was to set up a professional body that could successfully deal with all the problems--technological, administrative, and commercial--involved in testing the potential of oil shales. He sought for a manager who had the relevant contacts, and found Dr Yossi Yerushalmi, who was then in the United States and was preparing to return to Israel after an absence of 20 years.

Dr Yossi Yerushalmi, who holds a professorship from the City College of New York, says: "In 1980 I went to Israeli Chemicals and they told me: set up a company to deal with shale oil. A small core group of 4-5 men already existed. The idea we got was to organize a company called "Energy 2000," in which the oil companies should participate with 60 percent, the refineries with 20 percent, and Israeli Chemicals with 20 percent. From the very beginning it was clear to us that such a body would need guidance and support, and particularly massive government financing, since we held no hope that any private factor would subscribe to the project. We approached Minister Moda'i, who was then in charge of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, and he agreed to assume responsibility for it, on condition that a government company should have the control. The shares were redivided into equal 25 percent parts for Israeli Chemicals, the refineries, the oil companies, and the National Coal Supply Company. Thus the PAMA company--Energy Resources Development--was born."

Yossi Yerushalmi, director general of PAMA, says that he began the "countdown" in 1982. "That is when our projects began to make progress. In the 3 years that had passed we had mostly engaged in preparatory work, for which we built the 'pilot' installation in the Rotem Plain. The purpose of the installation was to test the economic and technical profitability of exploiting shale oil, and various production methods.

"Several interesting and important facts came to light. First, we found that the oil shale reserves were larger than it had been thought. The estimated quantity is about 10 billion tons. On the other hand, it emerged that the quality of our shale oil is not as high as those in Texas, for example, but that the mining is cheaper. Our raw material is found in a wide layer and close to the surface. We found shale oil layers at a depth of 10-50 meters, which permits open face, inexpensive extraction.

"In Addition, we discovered a layer of phosphates under the oil shale, which can be exploited after the removal of the shale. Our 'pilot' installation here, in the Rotem Plain, is testing both possibilities, i.e., obtaining oil from the shale, and burning it like coal for producing electricity."

## Worldwide Experiments Continue

It appears that Israel is not the only country in the world to test possibilities of exploiting oil shales for the two aforementioned purposes. Until the middle 1960's attempts had been made to extract oil from shales through primitive methods in Scotland, Spain, and France. The results were not impressive, and the attempts were discontinued because other energy resources, such as oil and gas, were less expensive. However, close to the onset of the oil crisis 10 years ago, the subject was again taken under study, and several countries arrived at advanced stages of development.

Everywhere it became clear that the exploitation process was long and expensive. Semi-industrial installations were built in several western countries.

The U.S. company Union Oil developed a fully self-financed industrial process, without the contribution of any other factor, with a view to extracting 10,000 oil barrels daily. This industrial installation has been test-run for the past 1 and 1/2 years.

China and the Soviet Union also have commercial oil shale exploitation industries, for both oil extraction and for burning in electrical plants.

According to PAMA information, millions of dollars are currently being invested in the world yearly in developing various processes, particularly for the production of oil, sometimes without government aid. Even countries like Brazil and Morocco are at various stages of oil shale exploitation, and even if results so far have been less than impressive, they point to the great interest shown by many countries in this area and to the scope of the relevant endeavors underway.

"We have no doubt that development in this area depends on perpetual searches for suitable technological methods on the one hand, and on world oil prices on the other. Oil prices periodically go up and down in the world in cycles that can be calculated with almost mathematical precision. In our long-term planning we assumed that the oil prices go up 1 percent a year in the world. The calculation that governs this forecast takes into consideration increases and drops in the price of crude oil over a period of 22 years, about the life span of the plant that we plan--if and when it will be authorized--for the end of the 1980's.

## Great Fluctuations in Oil Prices

This is perhaps the place to point out what is no big secret, namely that the world oil market is affected by great fluctuations in keeping with OPEC policies and with demand by the major industrial states. For example: only 5 years ago, the price of one oil barrel in the free market was \$40; today, the OPEC countries have reduced production and the free market price has dropped to \$29 and even less the barrel.

Dr Yossi Yerushalmi does not get excited about such things. The summarized results of an economic study resting in front of him show that the average

price of one oil barrel imported to Israel was between \$38-39 at the end of 1982, (the price dropped in the middle of 1983 to somewhat less than \$33) while the price of one barrel of oil extracted from oil shale is \$28-31. Producing oil from oil shale is clearly more advantageous, except for the initial large investment required to build the production installations; this investment, however, must be weighed against the enormous advantage of Israel as an oil producer and of decreasing its dependence on imported oil. This fact presents geopolitical and economic implications that necessitate no further explanation. Currently Israel imports 7 million tons of oil a year.

Together with the PAMA director general, Dr Yossi Yerushalmi, we visited the 'pilot' installation in the Rotem Plain. He explained that this is a very advanced installation, equipped with all the testing apparatus required to study the process of exploiting oil shale. We pick up some of the greyish-white fragments laying next to the installation and have trouble believing that they can produce oil or be burned like coal and turned into energy.

Yossi Yerushalmi smiles and says: "This stage, of proving the potential and contents of the oil shale, is already behind us. In that respect we were not the first nor the only ones in the world. I can give you a long list of products that can be derived from oil shale. For example, we found that through a certain process we can obtain a material resembling cement that can be easily used for building sections. It is all a matter of production, profitability, and of proving the advantages of the material, and that requires appropriate investment.

"So far we have used our pilot station only to test specific questions such as oil production and direct burning, but there is a whole series of experiments we have not dealt with and for which we relied on the results of tests carried out in the world. We also sent samples of our oil shales to be tested in other installations abroad. Why waste money on what others have already done..."

#### Proposal to Build Two Demonstration Installations

In support of his statement, Dr Yerushalmi shows us a small bottle filled with a black liquid and says: "This is oil produced from our oil shales, here at Rotem Plain. Anybody who does not believe can come and see for himself..."

Not far from the 'pilot' installation, PAMA men dug a small cave from which they mine shale required for the installation. From there they bring over the quantities needed to continue the tests, which are already in the final stages. In May this year it will be 2 years since this installation first began working and since it was inaugurated by the minister of industry and commerce at the time, Yizhaq Moda'i, together with the opening of the PAMA settlement in the Rotem Plain.

And what now?

Dr Yossi Yerushalmi replies: "I do not want to tire the public with imaginary plans and forecasts. We are content with what we have achieved so far, which



is a big and important step for the future. Now that we have more or less completed the preparation work we come to the next stage, which is the stage of demonstration. Our suggestion is to build two demonstration facilities: one for oil, and the other for producing power and heat through direct burning.

These two installations--in which we will test only the things of which are not yet positive--will permit us to ascertain the technological and economic aspects and the results of the implementation of the demonstration facilities. The two installations will require \$20 million. It is true that the project involves a certain risk, but no investment is free of risks. We hope to minimize the risk as much as possible, which is possible only in a demonstration installation where the investment is relatively low. According to our schedule, the demonstration stage should continue until the end of the 1980's, to be followed by the commercial stage, which will extend beyond the year 2000. At that stage, oil will be produced in large quantities--20,000-40,000 barrels a day; that will also be the stage of a regional power plant that can produce hundreds of megawatts.

"If and when we come to such a stage--there is no need to spell out its practical value for the development of the Negev. According to our estimations, such a combination, based on the exploitation of oil shale, can provide jobs for 1,600-2,000 people, not to mention the by-products, such as phosphorus and ammonia, and the supply of steam and electricity for all current and future industrial facilities in the Rotem Plain..."

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ISRAEL

## DECISION-MAKING IN THE TERRITORIES

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 10 Mar 85 p 9

[Article by Yehuda Litani: "Who is Responsible for the Territories?"]

[Text] Anyone who is convinced that the minister of defense and the defense network are responsible for the overall care of the territories is not aware of the sweeping changes that have occurred on the subject over the past 10 years--says Dr Meron Benvenesti who recently completed research on the topic of decision-making processes on the West Bank for a research institute he heads. Benvenesti says that following 18 years of Israeli presence in the territories, the ministry of defense serves as military governor over the Arab residents and little more. The structure is incredibly similar to that in the triangle and the Galilee following the war of independence. The Ministry of Defense is formally responsible for most everything, but when it comes to practical actions and decisions, other ministries are called upon.

The Ministry of Defense, within the political, military and communications systems, has been saddled with the responsibility, government and administration of the occupied territories, says Benvenesti. This is based on international law which states that the military government is the source of authority in conquered territories. The minister of defense is responsible for the Ministry of Defense, and every action taken in the territories is taken in his name and on behalf of the military government: orders, instructions, etc. The responsible party, from a parliamentary and public point of view, is the minister of defense, as appointed by law.

Meron Benvenesti: "In reality, it was a prolonged process that brought the defense network to the point where actually it just administers the life of the Arab population. The minister of defense was never solely responsible for the territories. This was true also during the Dayan era when there was significant concentration of power. Due to Dayan's interest in the territories, he built a system of control to ensure the concentration of power. But even then, he was confronted with political opponents who wanted to diffuse his authority and general management committees were established so that Dayan could not exercise exclusive authority over the territories."

However, until Dayan left in 1974 - says Benvenesti - the Ministry of Defense not only knew everything that was going on but was also a decisive influence in every area of the territories, including settlement, land expropriations and budgeting. Israeli activity in the territories was examined at the time as a function of its implications for the Arab population. "There was always a balance, and if they did something purely for Israel's interest, it was always measured against the Arab population--security, disorders, Jordan's position of the subject, and the like."

According to Benvenesti, the ministry's authority in the territories was already becoming increasingly diluted during Shimon Peres' reign as minister of defense. But this process gained considerable momentum with the installation of the first Likud government. At that point, mainly following the signing of the peace agreement with Egypt and beginning of talks on autonomy, a conscious policy was set in motion to transfer authority from the military government to civil Israeli groups. This expressed itself in all spheres: The Ministry of Housing was given the authority and the budget to build towns. Jewish regional and local councils were established which were directly subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior. Regular budgets and the council's development budgets were allocated as if these were councils within the boundaries of Israel. Water treatment was transferred to the firm "Sources." The handling of the most sensitive of all subjects--land--was transferred to the Ministry of Justice.

Things were arranged in this fashion in order to fulfill the Israeli concept of autonomy. In other words, those areas of authority that Israel wanted to keep for itself, such as legal authority (continued maintenance of the authority to pass laws remained principally in Israel's hands), control over natural resources (water and land), Israeli control over settlement, the connection of fundamental networks (roads, electricity, communications)--were transferred directly to civilian government ministries.

When Yitzhak Rabin assumed the position of minister of defense, he found that all those functions had already been well established within the appropriate ministries. Today, for example, he has no idea which territory Felicia Elbak (directress of the civil division of the state attorney's office) might see fit to declare state property tomorrow morning.

Benvenesti says that the system of declaring state property is the only way today of expropriating land on the West Bank, this in contrast to the way it used to be when land could be expropriated for military needs only. In 1980, it was already an established fact that 2.1 million dunams on the West Bank were destined to be declared state land. This system operates under its own set of laws and regulations. When a decision is made that a certain parcel of land is to be declared state property and a field officer's signature is needed, the minister of defense

can theoretically instruct the officer not to sign. But then the minister of defense becomes a stumbling bloc and not a moving force, as was the case in the beginning of the Israeli occupation of the territories. In such a situation, the minister of defense is under much heavier pressure than usual within the government.

The parliamentary responsibility for the government's actions is expressed in terms of budgetary responsibilities, since ministers act according to their budgetary allocations. Thus, for example, in 1983, total expenditures on the West Bank amounted to \$375 million. But if we look at who was responsible for expending these funds, we will find an interesting phenomenon. Seventy-five percent of the expenditures were made by civilian ministries and only 25 percent by the Ministry of Defense. Israeli activities--settlement and the laying of the groundwork for settlement--accounted for \$280 million (for a population of 30,000 settlers) while the total budget for the 760,000 Arab residents was \$95 million. The Ministry of Housing alone in that year spent as much money as the Ministry of Defense, approximately \$95 million.

"If the situation is such that each minister implements his own policy within his realm of responsibility as authorized by the Knesset, it is no wonder that Minister of Defense Rabin recently said that the entire settlement budget is a puzzle in his eyes. He only controls one quarter of the budget, and only for the Arab population," says Benvenisti.

"Of course, there are coordinating bodies such as the general managers committee or the ministerial council for settlement, but the minister of defense does not chair these committees, nor does he receive any special consideration. It is also true, however, that within the Ministry of Defense and on the coordinating committees there are people who deal with civilian housing--settlement, roads--but they do not have the right of veto and it is clear that the minister of defense cannot instruct the minister of housing to build or not to build housing complexes in the territories. The minister of housing acts on the authority granted him by the Knesset according to the budgetary law."

The paradox is that all this activity--even as far as the international court, parliament and the media are concerned--is formally being conducted in the name of the minister of defense. Information does flow to the minister of defense. He and his aides do know what is happening. But there is a difference between what the defense reports on the activities of others, its attempts to coordinate these activities, and between the system's ability to exercise encompassing responsibility and impose a united policy on the others involved.

Responsibility for the territories today is dispersed, says Benvenisti. The Jewish population, in effect free of any encompassing control, is living as a state within a state. The minister of defense is left with 800,000 Arabs whom he rules as military governor. He has no means of balancing and coordinating the requirements for ongoing security (which is his major responsibility) with the pure Israeli interests that other factions are pushing for or supporting. Those factions impact on the overall security network, on the internal political system and also on the possibility of establishing a clear policy for the future of the territories. This is clearly a recipe for disaster.

ISRAEL

RABIN - QATIF PART OF ISRAEL

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Rafi Ga'on: "Rabin: Gush-Qatif Must be an Inseparable Part of Israel"]

[Text] "I believed in the past, and I believe today, that this area must be an inseparable part of the state of Israel. Nine years ago, when I participated in the first housewarming celebration in Netzer Hazani as Prime minister, I believed--and I believe today--that this area, in particular Gush-Qatif, has an economic and social future for development, as well as a role in security."

Those words were spoken yesterday by Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin in Neve Dekalim, a community center in Gush-Qatif where he arrived accompanied by the chief of staff, the regional commander, the coordinator of activities for the territories and the head of the civilian administration. Rabin added that he has always felt--as he feels today--that preference should be given to frontier and confrontation areas which play a role in state security, such as Gush-Qatif. Today, approximately 16,000 people live on the Strip in 13 settlements, and the settlers hope to increase that figure to 25,000.

Following a detailed explanation which Rabin received in the town of Gaza from Mayor Hamza Turkeman, a lawyer, Rabin said that his ministry would help as much as possible with the broad development plans for Gaza--a rain water collection system, sewage, building an industrial area and roads--but that in the current situation this would be difficult. "The time has come for international factions and nations--instead of asking us questions and making demands on the subject of improving the quality of life in the territories--should help with actions instead of words. I call for the United States and other countries to help us help the mayor here and the heads of the other councils," said the minister of defense.

Mordechai Artzieli, a correspondent for HA'ARETZ, reported that Rabin, minister of defense, warned the residents of southern Lebanon saying that if settlements in the north were not quiet, their lives would also be unpleasant. "There will be no one-sided terror. We will strike with great force. It would be wise to remember what happened in the Jezreel Valley," he said. In his speech yesterday, at the Beier Sheva branch of the Labor Party, he said that the government of Lebanon is a Syrian and that Syrian control of the Lebanese government is totalitarian.

ISRAEL

BRIEFS

ISRAEL, U.S. AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT--Israel and the United States have signed an agreement which is the first of its kind, according to which the Americans will finance Israeli aid to agricultural development in Caribbean countries. The agreement is on a scale of more than \$0.5 million and it states that Israel will supply the Dominican Republic with experts in the development of arid zones; it will supply Jamaica with experts in irrigation systems; and it will supply Antigua with an expert in the intensive cultivation of vegetables. When the agreement was signed in Washington, the head of the U.S. Agency for International Development Robert [as heard] McPherson, and Ambassador Aharon 'Ofri, from Israel's permanent mission to the United Nations, said that after this agreement further agreements for cooperation in the Caribbean area and other parts of the world can be expected. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 7 Apr 85 TA]

EGYPTIAN SHIP UNLOADING AT HAIFA--For the first time since the establishment of the state, an Egyptian-owned ship, flying the Egyptian flag, has arrived at an Israeli port. The ("Amana") is a 7,000-ton refrigeration ship which is carrying 4,500 tons of concentrated juices from South Africa. The ship, which is now anchored off Haifa, has 29 crew members, of whom five are Greek officers and 24 are Egyptian enlisted men. After loading the cargo of concentrated juices, the ship will sail to Scandinavia with 150,000 crates of fruit. The ship will visit Israeli ports as often as is required. [Text] [Report by Yosef Michalski] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 8 Apr 85 p 6 TA]

ISRAELI-YUGOSLAV DEAL SIGNED--A deal worth \$600,000 was recently signed between Kibbutz Orim in the Negev and a Yugoslav company. A company, jointly owned by the Kibbutz Industry Union and Kibbutz Orim, will set up a large system for the production of gas and liquid fertilizers in Yugoslavia. The signing of the agreement took place in Italy and the Israeli company committed itself to setting up the system within a year. [Summary] [Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 10 Apr 85 p 19 TA]

COMMANDER DISCLOSES FOILED 'TERRORIST' ATTACKS--Several months ago the navy destroyed two small craft [sirot hofim] which were on their way to carry out terrorist attacks in Israel; in one of them there was a female terrorist who was a French citizen. This was reported today by the Commander of the Navy, Rear Admiral Avraham Ben-Shoshan. He also said that over the past 6 years, the navy had foiled 10 terrorist attempts to infiltrate into Israel. He also said that terrorism by sea had become more sophisticated and the terrorists,

most of whose bases are in Lebanon, are now capable of using sophisticated vessels. They are training in several countries and studying naval warfare, and, in the Navy commander's view, we will be confronted with the problem of terrorist attacks by sea in the future, too. Our correspondent Gabi Zohar reports that Rear Admiral Ben-Shoshan was speaking at the Haifa Maritime and Commercial Club. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 19 Apr 85 TA]

PERES INVITES BHEKIMPI TO VISIT--The Israeli prime minister, Mr Shimon Peres, has invited Prime Minister Prince Bhekimpfi to pay an official visit to the State of Israel before the end of this year. The invitation was extended today by the Israeli ambassador to Swaziland, Mr Joffe, during the Israeli 37th independence anniversary held at his residence in Mbabane today. [Excerpt] [Mbabane Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 23 Apr 85 MB]

ISRAEL-CANADA AVIATION AGREEMENT--Israel has received landing rights for El Al planes in Toronto, Canada. In addition, Israel's aviation rights in Montreal have been extended: Israel will not be able to carry passengers from there to various U.S. cities. This was reported by Transportation Minister Hayim Corfu at a rally in Beersheba. Israel's new rights were concluded in an extensive aviation agreement signed in Ottawa. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 4 May 85 TA]

1984 TAX COLLECTION INCREASES--Real income from customs and value added tax collection increased last year by 12 percent. Two-thirds of the increase resulted from the changeover from 2-monthly collection of taxes, to monthly payments. The rest was improved tax collection methods. Last year car imports were down one-third, color television sets 40 percent less, and videos nearly two-thirds fewer, but washing machine imports rose by 5 percent. [Excerpts] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1000 GMT 7 May 85 TA]

EXPORTS INCREASE 2 PERCENT--During the first 4 months of this year there was a 2-percent increase in exports compared to the same period last year. Our correspondent Gad Sukenik reports that this rate is much less than last year's. Average monthly exports this year are down by 7.5 percent compared to the last 4 months of last year. This comes from a report released by the Central Bureau of Statistics. [Summary] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 7 May 85 TA]

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION STATISTICS--Today the National Insurance Institute published statistics on requests for unemployment compensation. During the 1984-85 fiscal year a 50-percent increase in the number of requests was registered; the number of requests totalled 190,000. Our correspondent Hemi Bar-Yosef adds that most of the increase was registered in the first 3 months of 1985. In contrast, this trend was checked in April, and there was even a 6-percent decrease in the number of compensation requests compared to March. [Summary] [Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1405 GMT 5 May 85 TA]

UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN IN APRIL--A drop in unemployment was registered in April for the first time in several months. Some 38,000 people sought employment in April, 3,000 fewer than in March. [Excerpt] [Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 7 May 85 TA]

JORDAN

# KING HUSAYN'S SPANISH PARLIAMENT SPEECH

JN270943 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 27 Mar 85 p 16

[Text] The following is the text of the speech His Majesty King Husayn delivered before the Spanish Senate and Congress of Deputies in Madrid yesterday:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

President of the Congress of Deputies, President of the Senate, Honorable Deputies and Senators, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure to be among you today and it is a great honor to have been given this opportunity to express our live and appreciation for the great Spanish nation. I seize this opportunity to convey to you and to the noble Spanish people the greetings and love of the Jordanian people, who harbor the sincerest feelings of friendship and respect to your friendly country. What increases the splendor of this meeting is the fact that it takes place under the democracy being enjoyed by Spain and comes as an extension of a blooming history and distinguished relations that combined our two peoples and nations throughout history. These relations have, during the contemporary age, been deepened and consolidated between the Arab and Spanish nations, which have contributed a great deal to human civilization throughout the ages. God willing, we and you will continue to work for the continuation of our cooperation in the interest of our two nations.

President of the Congress of Deputies, President of the Senate, I would like to recall the visit made by the founder of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the late 'Abdallah ibn al-Husayn in the year 1949, challenging the difficult international circumstances which engulfed Jordan and Spain at that time for the purpose of opening the door anew for the friendship and cooperation which characterize our bilateral relations these days. It also pleases me to express my pride in the personal ties of friendship that link me with His Majesty King Juan Carlos, thanking him and his government for giving me, Queen Nur, and the Jordanian delegation this opportunity to visit your beautiful country, get acquainted with his historical landmarks and modern accomplishments, and meet with its genuine people who have accorded us lavish generosity, care and love since our arrival in your friendly country. What increases our pleasure is the consistent growth of our bilateral relations in the political, economic and cultural fields.



Trade exchange is continuously increasing and the air transport agreements help to increase travel between the two countries. Moreover, thousands of Jordanian students are pursuing their education in Spanish universities and scientific institutes. This has strengthened understanding and friendship between our two peoples. We in Jordan, within the framework of our satisfaction toward the development of our bilateral relations, look forward hopefully upon the Spanish advanced expertise to be of use to us in implementing our projects and economic programs, particularly in those areas where you have made advanced strides such as agriculture, industry, tourism and antiquities. In this regard you will receive every welcome and response from the Jordanian Government and people. I am pleased to note here Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez' visit to Jordan last year which gave a thrust to Jordanian-Spanish relations.

President of the Congress of Deputies, President of the Senate, Honorable Deputies and Senators. Our efforts for development and for providing chances of a better life to our citizens were blocked from the start by a state of instability which has afflicted the Middle East for a long time. You all know that the main cause is primarily due to the historical injustice done to Palestine and its people who are still deprived of their right to national entity on the land of their forefathers--a right which is granted to most peoples under colonialization in the post-World War II era, when colonialism was liquidated.

We in Jordan were the first affected, after the people of Palestine, by the repercussions of what happened in the Palestinian arena due to historical, geographical and demographic factors that made the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples share a command destiny. We did our best to alleviate the suffering of our Palestinian brothers and shared the good and bad days awaiting to this problem that is exacerbating day after day as a result of Israel's expansionist policy and international hesitation to offer assistance for solving the problem in accordance with international laws and resolutions. On our part, we have knocked on every door in search of a comprehensive peaceful settlement that secures the rights of a comprehensive peaceful settlement that secures the rights and interests of all the region's countries and peoples and provides a chance toward better life for future generations.

Within this context, we cooperated with the international legitimacy which decided at the UN Security Council that the solution lies in the implementation of Resolution No 242, which states the inadmissibility to seize land by force and the right of the region's countries to live in peace within recognized borders. The UN Security Council Resolution No 338 of 1973 reasserted the previous Resolution No 242 and its basic principles.

As the Palestine question is the crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the cause of its continuation, the majority of world countries and peoples have recognized the Palestinian people's right to free self-determination on their national soil. They have also recognized the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative that has the right to represent them and negotiate on behalf of them.

President of the Congress of Deputies, President of the Senate, despite the international unanimity represented by Resolutions 242 and 338 and despite the danger posed by keeping the problem unsolved, the international political will has been obstructed by Israel, which has always indicated that it wants land, security, and peace while denying others their legitimate rights and while seeking to impose the policy of fait accompli by establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories, evicting inhabitants, and oppressing them in an attempt to vacate the land and annex it as was the case in the Syrian Golan Heights and Arab Jerusalem, a city which occupies an international spiritual position that renders it greater and nobler than being a subject of continuous conflict due to Israel's continuous attempts to Judaize it and claim it as its own property.

In view of the daily danger posed to the Arab territories, which Israel has been occupying since 1967, that is, for about 18 years, and since we in Jordan and Palestine are primarily harmed by the continuation of the Israeli occupation and measures and the state of no war and no peace, we have conducted a continuous dialogue with our PLO brothers for the sake of crystallizing a program of political action aimed at rescuing the land, liberating the kinfold under occupation, and establishing a just and lasting peace in the region.

In conducting this dialogue, we were prompted by a sincere desire to achieve a just peaceful settlement to the conflict based on the international legitimacy as represented by the UN resolutions and the spirit of Arab unanimity as expressed by the 1982 Fes summit resolutions. On 11 February this year we arrived at a joint action plan and we worked sincerely to make it emerge both balanced and fair to all, taking into consideration the legitimate rights and interests of all parties to the conflict. This plan was based on the principle of exchanging the Arab territories occupied in 1967 for peace and for the Palestinian people's rights to determine their destiny in a state that is confederated with Jordan. We also called for solving the Palestinian refugee problem in accordance with the UN resolutions and for solving all aspects of the Palestine question in an attempt to reach a final solution to a chronic conflict.

Since the region's security and stability are one of the world's basic worries and since a peaceful settlement should be guaranteed and supported by the international community, we have suggested holding peace negotiations in an international conference to be attended by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the concerned Arab sides, Israel and the PLO, the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative within a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

These are the contents of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian agreement by which we aimed at reaching a just and balanced settlement to the conflict that takes into consideration the fears and rights of the parties to the conflict. This agreement was based on the 1982 Fes summit resolutions and on what the international legitimacy has adopted as a basis for solving this problem so that all the region's countries and peoples will have the opportunity to live in peace and to build a prosperous future for future generations.

President of the Congress of Deputies, President of the Senate, Deputies of the Spanish nation, the agreement concluded on 11 February 1985 was a sincere and serious endeavor to move the Middle East problem from the state of stalemate, under which violent radical elements grow, to the state of responsible dialogue among the parties to the conflict, from the policy of containment imposed on the issue to the stage of moving toward a just and peaceful solution. This agreement also constitutes realistically and objectively the sound mechanism of the various peace initiatives and plans, headed by the Arab peace plan which is based on international legitimacy. It thus puts the intentions of the various parties that are directly or indirectly concerned in the Middle East conflict to the test. It will show whether these parties really support a just, comprehensive and balanced peace and whether they are really serious in solving this exacerbating problem that is threatening the region's peace and security as well as world peace, or whether heeding the interests of all the region's peoples and without expressing serious concern about lifting the injustice done to the Palestinian people and the destructive possibilities involved in this--possibilities whose repercussions will affect those far and near.

As a result of carelessness of hesitation to respond to international letitimacy and serious peace efforts during the last 10 years, the region's peoples have had their confidence in the feasibility of the principle of solving the conflict peacefully shaken. Consequently, the forces of moderation have been shaken. Will a fatal blow be dealt to these forces by failing to make a constructive assessment of the PLO, which announced its decision to joint Jordan in seeking a just peaceful settlement? We hope that this will not happen so that the last chance for peace will not be strangled. Therefore, we hope, gentlemen, that this agreement will get the backing and support it deserves after it has actually been welcomes by many countries, including the European states. We are confident that it will enjoy your attention and support since the principled Spanish stand toward this conflict has been and continues to be a positive stand that we greatly appreciate and respect. We are confident that you will continue to stick to it not because it is partial to the Arabs as some try to depict it, but because it stems from the principles of the noble Spanish nation which stands only on the side of right, justice, and peoples fighting for freedom against injustice.

President of the Congress of Deputies, President of the Senate, the Gulf region is witnessing a tragic war whose continuation threatens all of its countries which are distinguished in international trade and economy. This war has recently developed in a terrible dramatic manner to include civilians in their cities and villages. Halting this bloody war and ending this tragedy have become an urgent international responsibility. I am confident that Spain will not hesitate to join in the other international efforts and to employ the credibility and prominent status it is enjoying to stop this bleeding and support the efforts aimed at ending the Iraq-Iran war in accordance with international law and in a manner that preserves the two neighborly countries' interests and historical rights and establishes relations between them on the basis of good neighborliness, respect of sovereignty, and non-interference in internal affairs. Iraq's cooperation and response to the international peace efforts deserve appreciation and encouragement. We hope that Iran will respond

to these efforts as enthusiastically as Iraq in the interest of its people and the region's peoples. We hope that the door of peace will be opened so that the Iranian and Iraqi peoples can embark on reconstruction and can resume the march of development in peace, confidence and stability.

President of the Congress of Deputies, President of the Senate, your country has its international weight and prominent political status. This will be enhanced by joining the European group shortly. We are confident that your membership in this group will further support the peace efforts and strengthen international cooperation, particularly within the framework of dialogue between the north and south.

President of the Congress of Deputies, President of the Senate, I repeat my thanks and appreciation for giving me this opportunity to speak before your esteemed parliament, which represents the friendly people of Spain and which embodies the noblest meanings of democracy. I greet through you the glorious Spanish nation which is linked with my Arab nation by old, distinguished ties which we are all eager to perpetuate and enrich for the welfare of our peoples, May the peace and blessings of God be upon you.

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JORDAN

# JERUSALEM STAR ON JORDANIZATION OF BANKS

JN191650 Amman THE JERUSALEM STAR in English 18-24 Apr 85 pp 1, 14

[By Robert Pouliot, STAR economy analyst]

[Excerpts] The government's decision to abandon the Jordanization of foreign banks comes at a critical time for the kingdom. No signal could have been clearer to strengthen the inflow of foreign investments in Jordan.

The question is: Why was such a sensitive issue, under debate for over a year now, so suddenly discarded from the government's priorities? Wasn't it in the interest of Jordan, wonders the man in the street?

One goal of Jordanization was to provide to local investors an opportunity to participate in the most stable and profitable segment of the country's private sector. By doing so, the authorities would have been able to kill two birds with one stone.

--Create even more interest in the stock exchange which is now in a very weak situation;

--Strengthen the capital base of the banking sector.

The combined effect of Jordanization on all the foreign banks (assuming their acceptance of the new rule) would have been to add somewhere between JD 15 to JD 25 million in capital to the banking system. In turn, this extra capital might have added a maximum of about JD 250 million in funds available for loans and investments by the banks or 20 percent of the current loan portfolio of the country's whole banking system. This, again, is based on the current performance of the banking sector.

At first glance, that situation could have benefited many enterprises in bad need to restructure their balance sheet at a time of sharp economic slowdown. That, however, was on paper. In practice, the prospects looked a bit different.

First, in most other countries in the area which applied a system similar to Jordanization, there were very few locally controlled banks or were either marginal on the markets or didn't have the capital strength to compete against foreign banks. That is not the case in Jordan, where locally-controlled or incorporated banks dominate the market.

Foreign banks are no threat to Jordanian banks. Their presence has in fact contributed to raise quite significantly the quality of banking in Amman, not to speak of their role as a training ground for hundreds of Jordanians. Moreover they provided more depth to the market. Jordan serves indeed as a stepping stone for many foreign banks for the Syrian and Iraqi markets. They were also pioneers of the local syndicated market (where banks share loans to minimize their risks) as well as of the money or interbank market (the liquid funds which banks might need to share or swap).

Second, when they applied their own "citizenization" rules, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia had no stock exchange to speak of, whereas that of Amman is quite efficient by Middle East standards.

Third, foreign banks had very little choice. Those markets in those countries were substantially underbanked and there was considerable attraction in staying, even without control. Better still, the economies were expanding madly and prospects for growth appeared to be limitless. This is not the case in Jordan. In other words, foreign banks might simply prefer to walk out of the market instead of going through the whole exercise of losing control over their little operations. Several, in fact, threatened to do just that.

Result: Instead of the JD 15 to JD 25 million in extra floated shares on the market, the figure could melt to JD 10 million or even less. The impact might be quite serious: Less banks, less competition to the detriment of borrowers, and growing concern by current and potential foreign investors. In a country which has always been an importer of capital (which Kuwait or Saudi Arabia are not), that was certainly a prime consideration in the cabinet's decision.

But if Jordanization is abandoned, does it mean that the authorities will have less power on foreign banks? Absolutely not. It doesn't change much whether a bank is local or foreign. In fact, there is no industry more regulated in Jordan than the banking sector.

The Central Bank is still free to pursue its strategy of consolidation of the banking sector through mergers or takeovers. Very liberal countries such as the USA, West Germany or the UK have forced weak banks to merge with stronger ones to protect the public. That is probably the greatest task now awaiting the Central Bank and the Ministry of Finance.

CSO: 4400/135

JORDAN

AL-RIFA'I MEETS TRANSPORT SECTOR REPRESENTATIVES

JN131314 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 13 April 85 p 3

[Text] Amman (PETRA)--Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i Thursday emphasized the vital importance of the transport sector to the national economy and said that all constraints and negative elements will be removed to enable this sector to contribute effectively towards the country's progress.

Speaking at a meeting with representatives of the transport sector in Jordan, Mr al-Rifa'i said that the transport sector plays an important role and is in fact one of the most vital economic sectors as it is the largest sector in terms of volume and operations. "We are not only talking about trucks and vehicles, but also about their relations to the economic concept and the transport industry," the prime minister said at the meeting.

Mr al-Rifa'i said that the government will immediately start to tackle all problems impeding the development of the transport sector and aim to find lasting solutions to these problems with a view to ensuring continued development and progress.

In this concern, the government will open more roads to facilitate the transportation of goods over land and will soon embark on opening a road to run parallel to the desert highway to link Ma-an and al-Azraq, he said. This road is designed to shorten the journey by 88 kilometres, the prime minister said.

Mr al-Rifa'i said that contacts are underway for opening another road between Suwaymah, in the Jordan Valley, and Aqaba in the south and added that the implementation and construction of this road will be entrusted to private companies.

Referring to the obstacles which the transport sector faces, especially at the border posts, Mr al-Rifa'i said that the government will immediately begin intensive contacts with neighbouring countries to overcome all these problems. He announced that a meeting which will group representatives of transit and transport sectors in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon will soon be held to discuss this issue and that contacts will be made with Saudi Arabia for the same purpose.

## Transport Committee

Mr al-Rifa'i announced the formation of a committee representing the ministries of transport, public works and interior and major transport companies in the country to study all the obstacles facing the transport sector and to find effective measures to solve these issues. The prime minister also requested the committee to find a lasting solution to the axial weight issue.

The prime minister also announced that Jordanians who own vehicles which are not registered in Jordan will be able to pay their customs duties on these vehicles by easy installments if they wish to have them registered in Jordan.

Mr al-Rifa'i added he has already instructed the customs authorities to follow the new system and to make arrangements for refrigerated trucks to be converted into trucks under specific conditions to be agreed on through an ad hoc committee.

The government will be open to any proposals for solving all outstanding issues and facilitating the tasks and the work of those involved in the transport sector, Mr al-Rifa'i said.

The government wants all the concerned parties to reach convincing agreements which will be acceptable to all and does not want to find solutions to the problems of one sector at the expense of another, the prime minister added.

Several representatives of the transport sector spoke during the meeting presenting the problems they face and submitting demands and requests to the government.

One of the speakers was Mr 'Id al-Fayiz, director general of the Jordanian-Iraqi land transport company, presented a briefing on the general transport situation in Jordan and underlined the sector's importance to the national economy. [sentence as published] Mr al-Fayiz said that the investments in this sector amounted to JD 250 million last year, registering some 12 percent of the total investments in the country.

### Main Problems

Mr al-Fayiz said that the problems of the transport sector revolve around the following issues, axial weights, licensing of vehicles which bear Jordanian and non-Jordanian license plates and the transport tariff for charges on loads and shipments. [sentence as published]

Mr al-Fayiz proposed that a committee be set up to coordinate matters between the transport sector and the concerned ministries and to conduct research on the fixing of axial weights which could later be introduced as an amendment to the land transport law.

Another speaker was Mr Shtaywi al-Jam'ani, the director general of a company which supervises land transport in Aqaba. He called on the government to reconsider the axial weight system for trucks with a view to raising the weight



limit and loads in order to help revitalize the transport sector and to end congestion and the accumulation of goods at Aqaba Port. Representative of the Jordanian-Syrian Land Transport Company, Mr Bassam Qaqish, presented the meeting with complaints about the lack of maintenance on vehicles and regarding the problems which truck owners face when moving across Arab borders.

There then followed a general discussion on the transport situation and the measures which should be adopted to improve the sector.

The meeting was attended by members of a ministerial committee entrusted with handling financial, economic and planning problems in addition to Minister of Transport Farhi 'Ubayd, minister of public works Mahmud al-Hawamidah, minister of information Muhammad al-Khatib and other senior official as well as the deputy governor of the Central Bank of Jordan.

After the meeting Mr al-Fayiz told the Jordanian News Agency, PETRA, that he appreciates the government's initiative on this matter and hopes that the meeting will be the first step towards solving issues plaguing the transport sector in Jordan.

The transport sector, he said, is one of the most important sectors in the national economy and all efforts should be made to overcome the obstacles impeding its development. Mr al-Fayiz expressed satisfaction at the formation of an ad hoc committee which will handle the sector's problems.

CSO: 4400/135

JORDAN

COLUMNIST COMMENTS ON NEED FOR POPULAR ARMY

JN150944 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 15 Apr 85 p 1

[Nasuh al-Majali's article: "Urgent Priorities"]

[Text] The search for peace does not constitute a guarantee of security. Therefore, all our options must remain open. Arab positiveness and moderateness in accepting the peace option are faced by unusual escalation of extremism inside Israel. As Arab moderateness is expressed in policy, so Israeli extremism is expressed in Israeli policies and stands toward peace and the region's peoples.

Therefore, there is no escape from building an internal front in Jordan on bases that take into consideration all options including, the option of confrontation. We must also think of a method that enables us to deal with any emergency with a conscientious public participation capable of being an asset to our armed forces and the state's apparatuses. This may sound strange with the increasing acceptance of peace, which means defending security. Nevertheless, peace does not prevent us from being cautious on the issues of strength and security, because our experiences with Israel and the region's surprises have taught us to depend only on our own ability to protect ourselves with all the means and potential available to us, even while we are positively searching for an acceptable approach to peace.

This is what makes us urgently demand that priority be given to an issue that touches the core of our security and existence--an issue dictated by the nature of circumstances and the threats that surround us.

We are looking forward to the day, which we hope will be soon, when the popular army will move from the stage of promises to the stage of implementation. We want the nucleus to start in every village and quarter until it grows bigger and bigger and encompasses our country and people wherever they may be. We have heard a great deal from successive governments, but we have not seen anything realized yet.

What happened in Lebanon, or rather Israel's option in Lebanon, is a solution that is strongly entertained by extremists in Israel. If we remember that Israel's war machine is Israel's greatest investment, the great possibility of Lebanon's example being repeated anywhere around the Zionist entity becomes

obvious. Many Israelis still believe in the possibility of achieving Israeli peace by fragmenting the Arab situation around Israel and changing it in a manner that guarantees peace by threats, deportation, and absolute control over the Arab region around Israel.

We have not felt yet that the Popular Army is an urgent national priority. This is a result of the state of relaxation we are experiencing. There is no guarantee for any Arab regime or for Arab homeland around Israel except the people's ability to defend themselves if they are exposed to aggression. This is why, we overwhelmingly feel that every martyr who blows himself up in an Israeli convoy in southern Lebanon is in fact protecting us here who are neighboring Israel. This is because the martyr is undermining the theory of Israel's expansion into the neighboring human and geographical environs and sets an example of the ideal people's role in resisting the invaders.

The Popular Army is an effective method to organize our internal abilities, a popular asset to our armed forces, and guarantees our security and dignity. We hope that the Popular Army will be on the lists of the government's priorities even if it is at the expense of other priorities that can afford to be postponed.

CSO: 4400/135

JORDAN

## STUDIES INDICATE LARGE SHALE OIL RESERVES

JN031548 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Apr 85 pp 1, 20

[Text] Amman--SAWT AL-SHA'B can assert that drilling and exploration combined with studies and laboratory tests, which constituted the first stage of the shale oil project, have proven the existence of large shale oil reserve in Jordan. The oil preserves contains a good percentage of hydrocarbonic materials, which can be distilled to produce oil and gas or directly burned to generate electrical power.

In the second stage of the project, a study was made on the technical and economic feasibility of distillation and direct burning. The results of this study indicated that it is possible to build a distillation station with a capacity of 50,000 barrels per day [BPD] and also guaranteeing reasonable profits.

As part of the government's plan to reduce the burden on the national economy of importing oil, and to try to ensure national energy resources that can dispense with or at least limit oil imports, the third stage of the project will be implemented, this stage aims at making a detailed study on the technical and economic feasibility of building a distillation station with a capacity of 50,000 BPD and with carrying out exploratory industrialization tests on 300-ton samples representing all materials. This sample will be sent abroad to be tested in exploratory industrialization unit affiliated with the world companies who specialize in the process of distilling shale oil.

If the technical and economic feasibility of the project is proven, the plan calls for preparing architectural designs and documents of tender for the fourth stage of the project. The fourth stage will focus on establishing an experimental production unit of industrial size with a capacity of 5,000 BPD to be assured of the effectiveness and success of the industrialization method that will be used in the distillation station before implementing it with its final capacity.

Establishing the experimental production unit and continuing the other stages of the project will be completed after 1990. Throughout the period of studies, the project will provide 30 employment opportunities each year. The cost of the work to be implemented during the period 1986-1990 is estimated at 3 million dinars.

CSO: 4400/135

JORDAN

#### BRIEFS

IRAQI OIL EXPLORATION TEAM--Amman, 2 Apr (INA)--An Iraqi seismological team began seismological survey operations today in the Dead Sea area of western Jordan to search for oil. A responsible Jordanian source at the Natural Resources Authority told the INA correspondent in Amman that the Iraqi team, which comprises 20 technicians and administrators, began its work by conducting a series of detailed field tests to search for oil in fraternal Jordan. It will also carry out geological surveys on a 900 square kilometer area. The Iraqi team, which is led by Ziya'i Hatim al-Bayyat, arrived in Amman in the first half of last month. [Excerpt] [Baghdad INA in Arabic 0850 GMT 2 Apr 85 JN]

AGRICULTURE PROJECT PLANNED--Amman (J.T.)--A JD 30 million agricultural project is planned for execution by the Economic and Social Corporation of Retired Military Personnel, according to the corporation's Director General Sami 'Anbar. He told the JORDAN TIMES that the project aims to meet 30 to 50 percent of Jordan's food security requirement after 5 years. He explained that the project consists of an area of 200,000 dunums to be cultivated with wheat, corn, barley, potatoes and onions. He said that the first phase of the project consists of 86,000 dunums and will be executed in cooperation with an American firm. Mr 'Anbar said that French and American investors have expressed a genuine desire to finance the project. The project is situated at al-Hamad basin in al-Azraq near the Jordanian-Saudi borders and will include in its final stage residential area, a clinic, a small hospital and other services in addition to a maintenance and training centre. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 16 Apr 85 p 2 JN]

JORDANIAN EXPORTS, IMPORTS--General Statistics Department sources have said that the overall value of Jordanian exports for 1984 reached JD 261 million compared with JN 160 million in 1983. The sources indicated that the major importers of Jordanian products are Saudi Arabia, Japan and Italy. The sources added that Jordanian imports for 1984 reached JD 1,071 million. [Text] [Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 21 Apr 85 p 26 JN]

OIL REFINERY EXPANDED--Al-Zarqa', (PETRA)--A special ceremony will be held at the Jordan Petroleum Refinery Company (JPRC) in al-Zarqa' next month to inaugurate the company's third expansion project, according to Mr Ramiz Malhis, JPRC's acting director. He said that iwth the inauguration of the new project the company will have raised its production capacity by 250 percent, which he

said amounts to building a new refinery for the country. The cost of the project amounted to JD 58,025 million and was carried out by a Romanian company specializing in this field and the electro-mechanical designs for the refinery's units were carried out by a British company, Mr Malhis said. He paid tribute to Jordanian expertise which was involved in the preparation of technical documents for the project, drawing up engineering designs and in the installation of equipment and the subsequent testing which preceded the production state. [Excerpt] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 22 Apr 85 p 3 JN]

DIPLOMATS POSTED--Amman (J.T.)--A total of 15 Jordanian diplomats attached to the Foreign Ministry are to be transferred to posts in embassies abroad, according to Foreign Minister Tahir al-Masri. Following are the postings: Tawfiq al-Shubaki to Muscat, Nabil al-Talhuni to Dubai, 'Isa Dabbah to London, Muhammad Jamal Balqiaz to Moscow, Kamal Hasa to Washington, Nayif al-Hadid to Damascus, Fu'ad al-Batayinah to New York, Ibrahim Abd al-Latif Bawwab to Washington, Rifa'i 'Ulayyan to Islamabad, Ziyad al-Majali to Washington, Muhammad Nawafilah to Doha, Muhammad al-Shawabikah and Mahmud al-Shishani to Riyadh and 'Adnan Sadduk to Sanaa. [Text] [Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 27 Apr 85 p 1 JN]

CSO: 4400/135

SAUDI ARABIA

GOVERNOR OF QASIM DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic 3 Apr 85 pp 14-19

[Interview with Governor of Qasim Prince 'Abdallah bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Sattar: "A Specialist Hospital for Qasim, and a Big Park On the Outskirts of Buraydah;" place and date not specified]

[Text] To say that this interview with His Royal Highness Prince 'Abdallah bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz, Governor of Qasim, is important and to then fall silent is not enough, so we shall borrow some of our language's forms of exaggeration and say that in our opinion it is one of the most important interviews ever conducted with His Highness. This remark is not an idle boast, but is confirmed by the wide-ranging nature of the interview and its digressions into every question which might possibly be asked about Qasim Province--its agriculture, industry, education, health services, and its sports, cultural and social activities. The interview was not merely a discussion of existing concerns, but also covered what ought to be. Nevertheless, despite its progress under His Highness' rule, Qasim was not first and last in this interview, for the nation overshadowed every question and answer. So now we will show you the cards and invite you to read the interview.

[Question] Qasim is one of those areas on which the Kingdom depends for its agricultural produce. To what extent have you achieved this goal? Are there any major plans to expand the production of various crops?

[Answer] It is an excellent idea for us to begin this interview by discussing the agricultural boom and the great development we are going through, not just in Qasim, which is well-known for its growth, but throughout the Kingdom. By the grace of God, plus the generous support being provided by the state, agriculture has become widespread throughout every town and village.

From an examination of agricultural development in the Kingdom, it is obvious that state support is primarily aimed at achieving food security, which is basically linked to political security. This is a wise policy which has been proven successful by its positive result of having made the Kingdom an exporter of wheat after having had to import huge quantities of it previously. It is enough to say that last year, in spite of epidemics which affected some farms, Qasim produced about 450,000 tons of wheat. This indirectly proves that we will never be affected by any pressure, no matter what kind, and that with our people's strong arms and the state's support we are capable of achieving self-sufficiency.

However, after having achieved these advances in growing grain by the grace of God, I feel that it is essential for us to try to produce other agricultural crops such as vegetables, fruits and so forth, so that we can achieve a higher level of overall strategic food production. Demand for food-stuffs in the Kingdom is increasing significantly, due to increasing population and rising incomes. Therefore, the producers and the agricultural companies must turn their attention in this direction, especially since this kind of agriculture would not consume too much of our water resources, and at the same time would prepare us for any emergency. His Majesty the King made this very point in his speech to the students being sent to America, when he spoke of grain silos and a stockpile of wheat sufficient for several years, which would induce us to reduce our wheat production and conserve water. Then, at Hajj time, we could resume producing wheat again. For this reason, the agricultural companies and the citizens must be directed to grow other useful products which would yield a good profit and would benefit the nation and the citizens, so that we could achieve self-sufficiency and not be at the mercy of exporting countries. We can see, in the Kingdom, successful examples which have taken this very step, for I myself have seen a farm in Tabuk and another in al-Kharj which have been of great benefit to the country and very profitable for the owners.

[Question] But don't you also feel that our concern for agriculture should lead us to a similar concern for animal resources?

[Answer] Certainly. There are vast areas of land with scattered green pastures, open and easily accessible, which are sufficient to meet the grazing needs of Bedouin herds of sheep, camels and livestock. I feel, however, that the grazing lands must be carefully controlled, in view of the fact that our market is rapidly growing and significant amounts of protein foods are being consumed. The state is sparing no effort to support this trend by giving the citizens incentives and aid in setting up such projects.

[Question] Qasim depends heavily on date production, but even so not a single date packing plant exists to meet the needs of the farmers, who for this reason are usually forced to throw away their produce. How are the businessmen of Qasim helping out in this regard?

[Answer] The Agricultural Company is setting up a date-packing plant, but where are the businessmen of Qasim? I feel that their contributions are not very encouraging. I am convinced that they have a major responsibility, not just to set up date plants, but to build development projects as well, such as hospitals, private schools, big first-class hotels, or any other projects which would serve the region's people and enhance the aspects of civilized life there.

[Question] We hope that the businessmen will read this interview, and that they will find opportunities for joint undertakings in projects vital to the area.

[Answer] I shall operate on the assumption that perhaps no one will read this interview. However you, as journalists, must urge all the Kingdom's



businessmen to participate in projects which would serve the nation and the citizens and which would also be profitable.

In general, we have many ideas as to how to encourage them to undertake such projects as a voluntary service to the Qasim region. We could borrow some good ideas from the West, such as holding a big festival where meals would be sold at fixed prices, the proceeds to be used to build some project which would serve the society and the people of the area. We are in the process of studying such ideas, in order to urge Saudi businessmen to participate in a positive manner.

[Question] An oil refinery has been constructed in Qasim. Is this an indication of future industrial strides in the region?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the refinery's construction will help bring about many of the things we need. For example, this refinery has put an end to the transportation of fuel by truck, and has brought fuel oils to many areas. Furthermore, industry has been very beneficial to the area, and will help bring about widespread industrial activity backed by Saudi investors, God willing.

[Question] How is the health situation in Qasim? Can the existing infrastructure provide health services for the area's inhabitants?

[Answer] I don't think that what we now have can meet the citizens' needs, but in the near future, God willing, the specialist hospital which His Majesty the King ordered for Qasim will be completed. This 574-bed hospital will help the people of the area obtain good health care instead of having to travel to Riyadh or some other city. It will also offer its services to neighboring areas. Throughout Qasim there are other hospitals on the verge of completion, and I recently received a letter from the health minister saying that three new hospitals will be put up for bids soon.

I can say that the health situation is getting better, and that there has been a great improvement in hospital conditions over what I have seen in the past. This amounts to a major transformation in health conditions. We hope that things continue as planned in accordance with His Majesty the King's directives, and according to his concern for the entire kingdom's health conditions and for the other accomplishments of the fourth development plan.

Now that we are on the way to completing the new hospitals, we hope that the health administration in charge here will become more aware of its role, so that it can meet the region's health needs. We must not shirk the responsibility which has been placed on our shoulders, nor can we allow matters to go along without following them up.

[Question] Does this mean that the responsible authorities here must follow up all the projects which the region needs?

[Answer] There is no doubt that this is incumbent on all the government agencies concerned as well as on all the citizens. I feel that every citizen is responsible; that no given citizen is responsible while another

is not. The fact that the governor is responsible does not excuse the citizens from bearing their responsibilities, because the basic goal is to serve the country. Once we all feel that we are serving our nation, and that we are all obliged to participate in all aspects of national life, then we will achieve self-sufficiency in every area, God willing.

[Question] What is your opinion of the educational situation in the region?

[Answer] Education in Qasim can be said to have made considerable progress. As a result, we have begun seeing an increased demand, greater than projected, for boys' and girls' education. This is a good omen.

But in spite of this progress, some problems still face those boys and girls in search of knowledge. The schools are unsuitable, most of them being rented buildings inadequate for advanced teaching methods or even for basic student needs. In most of these schools, the students' classrooms are obviously overcrowded, which is not in keeping with the desired educational goals. We hope that this problem can be dealt with in a manner commensurate with the essence and fundamentals of education.

[Question] With respect to the tangible progress being made, don't you feel that a specialized university should be established in Qasim, as an alternative to the branch universities which now exist?

[Answer] I don't feel that it is as important to have a university for Qasim as it is to provide these existing colleges with all the basic components and required specializations. It makes no difference whether these colleges are called universities or branch universities, as long as they have everything the population needs.

As His Majesty the King has said, building and setting up a university is not difficult, and the state can do it. But the important thing is: where can we get an outstanding faculty, not just any old faculty?

As I see it, these existing colleges, once provided with the necessary resources, would achieve the desired goal, without our having to settle for a university lacking in skilled teachers, technical experts and the like. You can see this at the big project being supervised by King Sa'ud University, which, although a branch university, resembles a university because it covers approximately 80 square kilometers. It will be constructed over the next 2 years.

[Question] Even though there is a lot of construction going on in Qasim, there has not been a corresponding development in public services such as roads and sidewalks. Can it be said that there are new programs for building more roads and sidewalks and putting up street lights?

[Answer] As for main roads, which are supervised by the Communications Ministry, contracts have been signed for ten divided highways, which are under construction now. These do not include the Riyadh-Qasim highway or the Buraydah Beltway, which have been budgeted and which we hope to see soon.

As for those quarters without street lighting and paving, this is a truly unfortunate matter, and is a real shortcoming for which we are no doubt responsible, for we have not supervised or followed up on these projects on an ongoing basis. I was quite shocked when the new director of municipal and village affairs told me that in Buraydah, for example, huge sums of money were being spent, but not on the right places or on essential, important sites, and that the municipalities could carry out better, more attractive works projects without spending such huge sums.

As I see the problem, we need thinkers, innovators, and artists. Such qualities cannot be planted in a person, no matter who he is. God willing, we will seek out the best, most suitable, most creative people. There is no doubt that a shortcoming exists here; we are aware of it and we acknowledge it. We must change it, and we will change it, God willing.

[Question] It is good to hear such admissions from a responsible person such as Your Highness.

[Answer] On the contrary, an official's most binding duty is to admit shortcomings of any kind, even if he doesn't hear any criticisms or questions from the citizens. The question here is performing one's duty and serving the society. The citizen deserves answers to his concerns and questions. As journalists, it is your duty to clearly communicate these questions and our answers to them, because the only way the citizen can express his needs and demands is through the media. It is our duty to comply, because our sole basic purpose is to serve the citizen and achieve his well-being.

[Question] Your Excellency has remarked that sports activities have begun to grow and have met with broad popular acceptance. How would you define the future of this trend, especially since some of Qasim's club buildings are not suited to this trend?

[Answer] New club buildings have been built for several clubs in various parts of Qasim, the construction being supervised by Youth Welfare. The next plan will cover other parts of the city, God willing. But the question I want to raise is: to what extent are the citizens participating in building these clubs? Are they contributing effectively? Your question arouses uncertainty as to the situation of the clubs in a main city like Buraydah. Where are the citizens who would help out? Why has no initiative been taken to improve the situation? We know that the state can build whatever would serve the citizens. It has shown no remissness here; in fact, it has built top-quality buildings for a good many clubs. But we are questioning the spirit of patriotic participation.

As for regional sports activities, I was discussing this with Youth Welfare Chief Prince Faysal bin Fahd, and we agreed that His Highness would visit Qasim at a mutually-agreed upon time. During his visit, he would plan an extensive program to include several assorted sports activities, which would in effect be an all-star sports festival in which some world-class soccer teams would play the Qasim clubs.

[Question] Consideration has also been given to establishing regional branches of the Culture and Arts society. When will this take place?

[Answer] In less than a year, God willing. We will see what is involved and offer our full support and encouragement, especially since we know that the Qasim area is rich in all aspects of our national heritage and has excellent resources.

[Question] What do you think about the Qasim literary club? Do you see any additional way to bring about a widespread literary revival in the area?

[Answer] I cannot pass judgement on the Qasim literary club, because I don't know what it is doing. But surely, if it were functioning up to par, I would have heard of it and gone to visit it. I believe that in general, the literary clubs need new members who are receptive and endowed with vigor and vitality. From time to time I have noticed announcements for these clubs' literary activities, most of which are little more than lectures confined to a certain group of men of letters and have nothing to do with the concerns of the rest of society. Therefore, I feel that the literary clubs must diversify their activities to involve all segments of society, and must raise issues which concern the individual Saudi, something which has not been done so far.

[Question] Qasim lacks public parks. Is there any intention of building parks for the people of the region, as breathing space for them and their children?

[Answer] A large park, one of the largest in the Kingdom, is to be built on the outskirts of Buraydah. Work has already begun, and we hope that it will meet expectations, especially since the area has sand dunes, trees and water. Care has been taken to set aside part of it for families, with a restaurant, a cafeteria, and public facilities, so that the people won't have to go to the trouble of bringing their food and beverages with them.

[Question] Many areas still suffer from encroachment by sand dunes. Has a plan been drawn up for containing and halting these dunes?

[Answer] This problem must be dealt with. As I see it, the treatment is simple, for the problem has been handled in many parts of the Kingdom. God willing, we will begin soon. However, I feel that your question goes deeper than that. This brings me to the forestation of our country's sand dunes. We have all heard about Arbor Weeks. Why don't we use these weeks to invite everyone to plant trees on these dunes--trees that don't need much water? In this way we could change these deserts into green gardens. We could also use Arbor Week for operations to halt the encroachment of dunes on towns and villages, which would have the effect of entirely changing Nature.

I am always amazed when I hear a big city like Buraydah announcing that every year 60,000 trees are planted in one week. Where are these 60,000 trees? Surely they have died because they did not receive constant care. I believe that Arbor Week must instill among the people a love for trees and a desire to take care of them and maintain them. Man's disregard for trees makes him tear them up and build grandiose houses out of the best, most expensive marble, as a substitute for these trees. Therefore, in order to make up for this, we have considered the idea of announcing valuable prices for every citizen who takes care of a tree at his home or on his street,

and presenting him with a certificate of appreciation and a financial reward. This might improve the situation.

[Question] The region's markets seem to be uncoordinated. Don't you feel that it is essential to build better central markets, particularly since the overall volume of purchases has increased significantly?

[Answer] There is no doubt that this must be done. The state has not been remiss in this regard, having built several vegetable markets. These markets might have been more attractive and better built, but as I mentioned, we lack the imaginative, creative artists who could plan and build such markets using innovative, low-cost methods. We have learned this through experience, but we will continue searching for this innovative quality and will find it, God willing.

As for various other markets, many citizens have submitted plans for building high-class markets in Qasim which would be in keeping with the Kingdom's advancement. We have provided all the facilities they asked for, and in 2 years you will see a great change in the appearance of these markets, and in society itself, God willing.

[Question] What do you think of our Saudi information media? Have they been successful in communicating to the outside world the revival we are experiencing?

[Answer] I am not convinced that we are reaching the outside world in the way we had hoped. However, during the Olympic Games in America, I had the feeling that some of the ministry's attempts to portray the Kingdom's accomplishments and its significant development were receiving a favorable reaction among American and Arab circles. I heard many Americans talking about the matter. We must keep it up, because the world's mistaken view of us hasn't changed yet. I met many American friends who told me that there were some very simple ways of changing this view, such as making a media tour to American schools and universities to explain the great things we have achieved and to clarify Saudi Arabia's constructive view of world issues. We hope that our media will be more active overseas in giving a truer picture of Saudi policy and in responding to hostile campaigns scientifically, logically and composedly. In this respect, we could seek the help of world information experts as to how we might reach these societies.

[Question] I think that His Majesty the King's roundtable meeting and his speech about the Kingdom's development, in which he stressed that our media ought to devote themselves to these serious information problems, should be reported overseas.

[Answer] This is correct. One of His Majesty's guidelines, God save him, is that the information agencies should broadcast a shining picture of the Kingdom to the outside world. Not everything should be left to His Majesty the King to explain, nor should we burden him with discussing the issue, for this only confirms the shortcomings of our information media. Therefore, our media must act; they must speak to the world in all languages and tell it about our country's growth.

The Information Ministry should invite prominent international media personalities to visit the Kingdom, even those known for their hostile attitudes towards the Kingdom, to witness the nature of these accomplishments and meet with this country's officials, so that they can find out the truth about this rebirth and then judge for themselves.

We are aware that our country has been subjected to intentional, hostile attacks. How often do we see that whenever an undisciplined Saudi commits some unfortunate act overseas, the foreign media launch an offensive attack on the Kingdom and hold it responsible for the bad deeds and mistakes of this man. However, we ourselves find many foreigners doing disgraceful things here, but we do not subject their countries to such attacks. This just goes to show that this country is susceptible, and that some people are trying to cast doubt on our accomplishments and goals.

In another sense, we also feel that the Arab information media are remiss in reporting on our Arab causes. Sometimes their efforts have the opposite effects; they address literate American circles using a futile mentality, chanting slogans and making speeches. Such methods have the end result of enabling our enemies to reach these other societies.

[Question] How does Your Highness view the role of Saudi youth in this phase?

[Answer] Youth has a part to play, an important one. It is the future of this nation, and therefore it must be given every possible means to be of general use and benefit to its country. Our young people need places to spend their free time away from home, and they need programs aimed at developing their patriotic spirit. If we don't meet these needs, where will these young people go when they are not at home? This aspect of the issue must be studied exhaustively, on the basis of our Islamic customs and traditions. Our Islamic religion is very advanced, and its outlook is not temporal. Nothing prevents it from adopting, from the West or the East, things that will benefit the young people and be in keeping with our religion and our morality. The young people need guidance, as well as centers and places to pursue their athletic or cultural inclinations, so that we can make them aware of their independent individuality within our society.

[Question] What do you think are suitable parameters for work for women?

[Answer] As you know, women make up half of the society, and their participation is essential and fundamental. Therefore, we see them taking part in teaching, nursing, medicine, social work, and other feminine fields. Praise God, our Islamic religion does not restrict women's work; it is an advanced religion which surpasses all other religions, since it preserves the woman's rights and duties and gives her the right to participate, so that the framework of society is not disturbed. It even demands that she be respected and defended and that her individual personality be preserved, so that she can participate in and serve society just as men do, without any mixing of the sexes.

[Question] Your visits to Riyadh and your discussion of regional demands with officials there have greatly influenced the citizens. How did this program of yours arise?

[Answer] This is a duty, something that is required of us. There are royal orders to discuss the area's requirements with all government agencies, which have helped us a great deal. Believe me when I say that I am indescribably happy when I see a development project being carried out for the people of Qasim, because it means a great deal to us.

[Question] Does that mean that the purpose of your meetings in Riyadh is to draw up new programs and projects?

[Answer] As you know, there are plans, and projects depend on these plans. We meet with the ministers and officials responsible for those projects in an effort to determine the type of project, its location, and how long it will take to construct it, as well as to determine what projects can be added in the future without duplicating the kinds of projects the region needs. For this reason, our visit was an attempt on our part to get a close-up view of these projects and examine them one by one.

[Question] As I see it, these visits demonstrate the state's concern for the citizens, and are an extension of the late King 'Abd-al-'Aziz's desire that the leadership closely follow the needs and concerns of the citizens.

[Answer] They certainly are. The guidelines laid down by His Majesty King 'Abd-al-'Aziz, which are still being followed today, call for us to follow the citizens' needs very closely, because we are part of the people and our leaders have charged us with the responsibility of serving them in such a way as to achieve their benefit and well-being. Walking down the street, an official will recognize only one or two people, which proves that the only difference between the official and the citizen is in the way each organizes his affairs within the limits of his responsibility. This responsibility must be in complete harmony with the citizen's job and field of specialization. Furthermore, the citizen must be able to go to the official to make complaints, even if such complaints are against the official. We are all equals, and it is a question of applying that precept throughout society.

[Question] Given this, don't you feel that the citizen as well must make sacrifices and do his duty to preserve the great accomplishments we have achieved?

[Answer] I don't believe that the citizen has to make any sacrifices; anything he does for the nation should not be considered a sacrifice but a duty. God has given us many good things and blessings, as well as a great, successful leadership. We must praise God and thank him by making an effort to maintain these blessings, such as streets, sidewalks, hospitals, schools, and all the other things we have accomplished by the grace of God.

I personally feel that inevitably the day will come when we all have to do something for our country, such as, for instance, doing something to maintain

our roads, especially since we are faced with maintenance and operation as soon as construction is finished. In this way we will feel that the roads belong to us and we must keep them up and maintain them, even if in a purely symbolic manner. I don't think that the state has given any thought to this; it is my own personal idea.

[Question] But it is a step which is necessary in order to express a spirit of joining in to preserve our accomplishments, which will belong to our children after us.

[Answer] The state is now levying small fees on water, in order to accustom the people to managing their water consumption. We find that those nations with permanent rivers and year-around rainfall conserve water better than we do. In order for the citizen to be aware of the importance of conservation, responsibility must be taught in the schools, universities and homes.

[Question] What are the most important projects which will be carried out in Qasim?

[Answer] There are a great many projects, and I can tell you about a few of them. A public library ordered by His Majesty the King will be built, in addition to the specialist hospital which has received royal approval and several other hospitals. A 300-bed hospital will be built in 'Unayzah, a 200-bed hospital in al-Rass, and new 100-bed hospitals in al-Bada'i', al-Mudhannab, and al-Bakiriyah. Other projects will be carried out in the future, God willing.

[Question] Najib al-Rayhani says that 'Unayzah is the Paris of the Najd. Does 'Abdallah bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz want Qasim to be the Paris of the Najd?

[Answer] I have many wishes and desires. God willing, we will take the good, suitable things Paris has to offer and apply them in a manner in keeping with our Islamic customs and traditions.

[Question] As chief official for Qasim, what is your main concern right now?

[Answer] My main concern right now is to concentrate on building our people, which will be achieved, God willing, as soon as new model schools are built to replace the rented buildings in which boy and girl students are overcome with gloom and listlessness as soon as they enter. I hope to God that the education officials will agree to follow a sound plan to educate and bring up our children in a proper, modern, Islamic manner.

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CSO: 4404/302



UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

INFILTRATORS APPREHENDED--Dubayy police have arrested three Iranians. Saleh Ahmad-Baz, Howeyn Ebrahim-Barmeh, and Howeyn Saleh, using a small boat, have tried to enter the country illegally through the ports region in Dubayy. They are now pending trial and deportatdon. [Text] [Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 22 Apr 85 p 2 GF]

PRC, FRENCH AMBASSADOR--Abu Dhabi, 8 May--(WAKH)--UAE Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Rashid 'Abdallah today received copies of the credentials of the first ambassador to the People's Republic of China to the UAE Hu Chang Lin, and new Frency Ambassador Charles Crettien. Referring to the situation in the Middle East, the [Chinese] ambassador said that his country supports and will continue to support the Palestinian people's struggle for self-determination and the establishment of their independent state. He welcomed the forthcoming visit by a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to China and expressed hope that the talks would achieve the desired results. Later 'Abdallah discussed with the newly appointed French Ambassador Charles Crettien ways of promoting bilateral cooperation all fields after receiving a copy of his credentials. The ambassador said after the meeting that he conveyed a message to 'Abdallah from French External Relations Minister Roland Dumas adding that the French minister will soon pay a visit to the UAE to have talks with senior officials on bilateral cooperation. [Excerpt] [Manama WAKH in English 1625 GMT 8 May 85 GF]

AWQAF DELEGATION TO EGYPT, MAGHREB--Abu Dhabi, 10 May (QNA)--A delegation from the UAE Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Awqaf left for Egypt today to recruit preachers to work in UAE mosques during the month of Ramadan. The delegation will also visit Morocco, Tunisia, and Mauritania for the same purpose. The ministry has prepared a big program for the month of Ramadan that includes invitations to notable ulema and scholars from various Muslim countries to deliver lectures and talks during the month of Ramadan. [Summary] [Doha QNA in Arabic 0835 GMT 10 May 85 GF]

CSO: 4400/141

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

OPPOSITION PUBLICATION SPECULATES ON EFFECT OF ISMA'IL'S RETURN

Cairo AL-WAHDAH in Arabic 15 Mar 85 pp 12-16

[Article by Muhammad Shudri: "AL-WAHDAH Magazine Speculates on Changes in South Yemen; What Did AL-WAHDAH Say about 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's Return? What Changes Are Expected in South Yemen? Will Alliances of Those Engaged in Conflict Change? Whose Turn Will Come Next? 'Ali 'Antar To Stay until Conference; Decision To Be Made Soon"]

[Text] Is it true that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il has gone back to Aden?

It was reported several times that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il would go back to Aden and that he would assume his responsibilities there once again. A few readers did not believe this news report; in fact, officials in some Arab countries did not believe it either. Some of them wagered that 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's administration would survive and that he would continue to hold all the reins of power in the country.

Last February 11 Radio Aden announced that the Central Committee of Yemen's Socialist Party had held its 14th regular session between February 3 and 11, 1985. The press release concluded with a statement that the Central Committee had made a number of decisions. These decisions, which were announced, included one appointing Lt Gen 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il secretary of the Public Department at the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Although this news report did not receive much coverage in the media, it affirmed in no uncertain terms that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il was in the country; that he had arrived in Aden; and that he had assumed responsibilities in the party. These responsibilities qualified him for the task of overseeing the party's various activities, including preparations for the party's 3rd annual conference, which will be held next October in Aden. Questions about what all that meant were being asked everywhere.

We will not answer these questions by providing analyses or new news. In this report we will mention what AL-WAHDAH has been publishing ever since it came out. We will publish the predictions its writers made about 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return and about the secret conflicts that were taking place over that matter.

In the 8th issue of the magazine, which came out on April 15, 1981, the following was mentioned: "Reports coming from Aden indicate that this overt Soviet intervention in our country's internal affairs was prescribed by several imperatives, the most important of which are:

"1. The struggle between the fifth columnist centers of power in the Yemeni Socialist Party has become a threat to the continued presence of the Soviets in South Yemen, which has so far been strong. This threat developed after the power struggle within the party turned into a phenomenon that could generate a national tendency that would adopt a moderate course of action and conduct itself in accordance with the national imperatives of such a course and sovereignty requirements."

"2. The tactical circumstances of the period caused the Soviet Union to keep 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il out. His chances with the public inside the country and abroad had been ruined, and his presence posed a threat to Soviet interests. That induced the Soviets to promote 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and keep 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il out of office."

"When 'Ali Nasir first came to power, he tried to take advantage of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's ruined image. He showed a measure of flexibility that enabled him to convince the countries of the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf that he wanted to pursue a course of moderation and turn away from extremism."

In the 9th issue of AL-WAHDAH, which came out on May 15, 1981, the following was mentioned:

"Observers believe that the struggle will become more intense and that 'Ali 'Antar will not give in easily. It is being asked: Are these changes a prelude to a complete change that will include everyone, 'Ali Nasir, 'Ali 'Antar and others? Will the Russians intervene, and will 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il come back with the force of Soviet weaponry, as was the case in Afghanistan when Babrak Karmal was fetched from the streets of Moscow to rule Afghanistan? If 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il returns to South Yemen, political and military considerations in the area will be affected in a major way."

"What Soviet strategy managed to achieve in the area was due to 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il who is still regarded in Moscow as one of the Soviet leaders' closest advisers on the Gulf area and Arabian Peninsula affairs. One wonders, what could happen? What we can say in answering that question is that what is happening in South Yemen is a major Soviet ploy whose implications will soon become clear."

In the same issue our colleague, Fadl 'Abd-al-Wali wrote: "When we say that the possibility of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return to power still exists, we are attributing that to several reasons."

"First, when we consider what has been happening so far in South Yemen, we find that it is 'Abd-al-Fattah's course that has been scoring victories, the most recent of which, of course, has been that of keeping 'Antar out of the Ministry of Defense and undermining his position. It was 'Antar who had created many of the crises that convinced the Russians that it was necessary to get 'Abd-al-Fattah out of the struggle for power in Yemen. 'Abd-al-Fattah was the one who thought that in order for the regime to continue pursuing the Marxist course that had been set for it, persons with tribal tendencies, like 'Ali 'Antar, Salih Muslih, (Mutbi') and others had to be eliminated."

"'Abd-al-Fattah believed that such people had outlived their usefulness after having performed the role that they had been asked to perform, a role which he described as one of 'detonating bombs and killing people in the streets of Aden.'"

He [also] defined the final stages of that role as coinciding with 'the departure of the British and the takeover of power by the National Front.' 'Abd-al-Fattah describes those people as ignorant and illiterate. He thinks they could help plant and cultivate land if they wanted to attach themselves to the regime and be considered its proteges. However, 'Abd-al-Fattah thinks that government must be managed by people who are educated in accordance with party standards or by people who are committed Marxists who would fight tribal, religious and every affiliation other than that to the Marxist creed.

"'Abd-al-Fattah was able to get rid of Salim Rabi', but he failed to get rid of 'Antar who had gained strength and was making insinuations about the power of the army.

"Second, 'Ali Nasir has served as prime minister ever since 'Abd-al-Fattah was relieved of his responsibilities. Besides, he continued to hold the two positions that had been held by 'Abd-al-Fattah: secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party and speaker of the People's Council.

"We think that the only possible explanation for 'Ali Nasir's occupying 'Abd-al-Fattah's two positions is to keep those positions for 'Abd-al-Fattah until his return and to keep 'Ali 'Antar and others away from them. Also the fact that 'Ali Nasir continued to serve as prime minister, which is his original position, indicates that the Russians were allowing him to serve in that position.

"Third, none of 'Abd-al-Fattah's supporters were hurt. And that even applies to Muhsin al-Sharjabi who has a record full of the worst offenses ever known to humanity!"

In that same article Fadl 'Abd-al-Wali said, "It is believed that the Russians concurred with the necessity for 'Abd-al-Fattah's departure not only to avoid having a bloody power struggle, but also because they 'hoped' that the emergence of a 'moderate' Nasir in power would persuade Gulf countries to count on 'his moderation,' and that would help the Russians carry out their plan in the area.

"However, 'Ali Nasir's moderation, which is linked with the continued presence of the ruling Marxist Party and its domination, did not seem to encourage the principal neighboring countries to count on that moderation, especially after mediation talks between the regime and the Sultanate of Oman failed.

"Consequently, it is evident that 'Ali Nasir may have lost the justifications for his presence in the top government position and for controlling all the positions held by his 'immoderate' predecessor, 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il. This was a case of having 'Ali Nasir appear as a 'moderate' replica of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il, whose presence in the party and in the government's Marxist administration has continued. Why then shouldn't he return?"

In the 12th issue of AL-WAHDAH Magazine, which came out on August 15, 1981 the following was mentioned in an article entitled, "Possibilities of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's Return if 'Ali Nasir Wins His Battle against 'Ali 'Antar:"

"'Ali Nasir Muhammad is carrying out the last stage of a well-considered Soviet plan that will be implemented after all opposition to him is eliminated. People

who oppose 'Ali Nasir have their own opinions of those plans, the most important of which is a plan to bring back 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il after getting rid of those who oppose him."

Events in south Yemen indicate that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il may return to power, and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad may stay on as president and prime minister. Our private information has indicated that the ongoing struggle between the parties in Aden became more intense after it became evident that matters favored the return of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il.

The reason is that those who operate behind the scenes to make things happen think that a committed partisan politician like 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il is needed in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf area. 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il is considered to be a man who can carry out Soviet plans in the area. He is a man who can make the gravest of decisions and say everything publicly and fearlessly. He is a man who can take military action if such action is required. 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il can do that because he has absolute faith in dealing with the Soviets, and his positions are committed and unshakable.

In the 46th issue of AL-WAHDAH, which came out on June 15, 1984, the following was mentioned in an article entitled, "Settling the Conflict:"

"News from Aden stated that demands were made during the meetings of the Central Committee for the return of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il, the party's former secretary general, to assume the responsibility of leading the Yemeni Socialist Party. Some sources stated that 'Ali Nasir Muhammad was accused of being ideologically incapable of providing leadership for the party's political thought. Approval for 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return was expressed, but opposition to that proposal was also expressed."

In the same issue, our colleague 'Ali al-Saqqaf wrote: "Confidential sources are saying that when Nasir Muhammad 'Ali, president of the regime in Aden, was visiting the Soviet Union recently, he was asked why he was balking at 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return to the country, especially since 'Abd-al-Fattah was still the president of the ruling Yemeni Socialist Party. 'Ali Nasir replied that he personally had no reservations or objections to 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return."

Al-Saqqaf added, "The information we have affirms that there is a tendency to bring back 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il as party leader and president. One last question: Will 'Ali Nasir face the same destiny that his predecessor faced, or will he be able to leave the country alive?"

Also in the same issue of the magazine, our colleague Fadl 'Abd-al-Wali wrote: "If the information that the Soviet Union is supporting the faction that is opposed to 'Ali Nasir is accurate, that certainly means that 'Ali Nasir is on his way out. However, this does not mean that the Salih, Muslih and 'Antar faction will be able to withstand the changes and upheavals for too long.

"A new struggle within that faction itself may develop, and 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il may return--at the present time there are many signs indicating that he might return. Or his return may be postponed until all tribal elements have been

eliminated. At that time, 'Abd-al-Fattah's return would indicate that the Marxist regime in Aden was ushering in a period of stability and security."

In the 48th issue of AL-WAHDAH, which came out on August 15, 1984, complete information about 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return was provided in a two-page spread in the magazine entitled, "'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's Return to Aden now Imminent."

The following was mentioned in that article:

"The question that is being asked in both parts of Yemen is this: Will 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il return to Aden soon? Is it true that resolving the struggle for power has resolved the question of his return, which is now imminent? Events that occurred before and after the 12th session of the Yemeni Socialist Party affirm that the party's extremist wing succeeded in persuading the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party to approve 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return to Aden to assume the responsibilities of leading the Yemeni Socialist Party, a party that is committed to Marxism-Leninism."

Some sources affirmed that this approval came about after everyone sensed that Moscow wanted 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il to return to Aden and become the country's president.

In its lengthy political review of this matter the magazine stated, "AL-WAHDAH reveals in this article new information about the reasons why the ruling party in Aden agreed to 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return. We can affirm that in the past months 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il made remarks that were harshly critical of the leaders of the ruling party in Aden, chiefly 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. These critical remarks, which were condoned by officials in the Soviet Communist Party, concentrated on a number of partisan and political issues. The most important of these are:

"First, 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il accused party leaders in Aden of not having an adequate understanding of Marxism-Leninism. He charged that mistakes had been made and that some programs had not been implemented.

"Second, 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il criticized what he called the regime's regression in forming an alliance with nationalist forces in north Yemen.

"Third, he sharply criticized the reconciliation between the regime in Aden and the Sultanate of Oman. He also criticized the action that was taken to suspend the activities of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, and he described that scheme as one that would lose.

"Fourth, he criticized existing relations between the regime in Aden and some neighboring countries and Gulf countries as well. He said that the Aden regime was making peace with those regimes.

These critical remarks, which were heard by more than one official in the ruling regime in Aden when these officials visited Moscow, were also heard by Palestinian delegations that are closely connected to 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il and to ruling political leaders in Aden.

Informed sources told AL-WAHDAH that some Marxist Palestinian forces acted as intermediaries between 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. They played that role in the course of a dialogue between the two men that lasted for many months. This mediation has become well-known now. It took place with the blessings of those in Moscow who would like to see 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il back in Aden.

In the past 2 months Soviet wishes that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il return to Aden have been stronger than ever. Information available exclusively to the magazine indicated that recent developments in the Gulf war have caused these mediation efforts to evolve into a final agreement. AL-WAHDAH's sources stated that when Mr Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the DFLP was in Aden during the first round of talks held between factions of the Palestinian Resistance, he flew from Aden to Moscow where he met with 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il. The magazine's sources stated that Nayif Hawatimah arrived in Aden last May while the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party was holding meetings of its 12th session. Those meetings brought extremists into the positions of making political decisions. Mr Hawatimah's visit came after he reached an agreement with 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il. Also, a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party arrived in Aden with Nayif Hawatimah. The purpose of the Soviet official's visit to Aden was to finalize that agreement.

As a result of these mediation efforts the Political Bureau of the Yemeni Socialist Party was expanded and supporters of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il joined the cabinet. These supporters are Mahmud 'Ashish and Muhsin al-Sharjabi. Based on its confidential sources AL-WAHDAH can reveal that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il will return to Aden next October and that a change in the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party is possible.

AL-WAHDAH Magazine concluded this article by saying, "Diplomatic sources think that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return will bring about a comprehensive change in the country's domestic and foreign policy, particularly toward the countries of the region. These sources state that the reconciliation with the Sultanate of Oman was not finalized and meetings between the two countries' border committees were suspended as a result of Soviet pressures and also because of the critical remarks made by 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il against that agreement.

In the 51st issue of the magazine, which came out on November 15, 1984, Muhammad Shudri wrote the following in an article entitled, "What Does 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's Return to Aden Mean?"

"'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il is scheduled to return to Aden any time to resume once again his responsibilities as the man who founded the Yemeni Socialist Party and who chose for it the Marxist course that is its ideological theory and guide."

Muhammad Shudri added, "According to what has been said, the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party has approved 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's return to Aden to play a new role in what it calls the next stage. This will be a stage of transition to socialism. It is being said that upon his return to the country, 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il will be appointed chairman of the Steering Committee for the party's next conference. It is also being said that he will draft the new document, a document for the transition from a period of democratic national revolution to that of secular socialism.

"Whether 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il returns to the country or stays away is of no interest to us. Although his return may make the regime more extremist, the fact that he may not return does not mean that the regime will change its course. That course will continue whether or not 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il is in power."

The editors of AL-WAHDAH Magazine published and wrote these predictions and analyses and this information as well.

We said in AL-WAHDAH that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il would return and that changes would take place. Indications about these changes have become evident recently after the Central Committee's recent meetings last February. 'Ali Nasir Muhammad gave up the prime minister's position and kept the positions of secretary general and president of the Presidential Organization of the Supreme People's Council. Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas has been appointed prime minister, and 'Ali 'Antar has been kept out of the cabinet.

But it is our opinion that decisive developments will take place soon. They may take place before or after the party's general conference is convened next October. It is known that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's faction has retained a few seats in the Political Bureau of the Yemeni Socialist Party and that another number of his colleagues have joined the new cabinet.

The question that is being asked now is this: Why has 'Ali 'Antar been kept out of the cabinet when his aspiration was to become prime minister? Is his ouster permanent? It is known that he is still serving as member of the Political Bureau and vice president of the Presidential Board of the Supreme People's Council. He can also be seen in a normal fashion on official occasions, wearing his star and medal studded military uniform.

It is expected that 'Ali 'Antar will stay until the conference and that he may make a new unexpected move and initiate a new conflict with his colleagues. But who will win and who will gain from the new alliances? Will a new faction emerge in the ongoing struggle? Will 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and 'Ali 'Antar disappear at the request of secret sources? Will they leave the scene for the new play that 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il--that man who is returning to Aden quietly, without clamor, but under a well-considered plan--will be asked to execute?

Until we meet again at the next conference!

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

OPPOSITION JOURNAL ANALYZES CABINET CHANGES

Cairo SAWT AL-JANUB AL-YAMANI in Arabic 28 Feb 85 pp 4-5

[Article: "SAWT AL-JANUB AL-YAMANI Turns on Spotlight To Reveal True Secrets behind New Cabinet Changes in Aden"]

[Excerpts] Why was 'Ali 'Antar kept out of the new cabinet, and why did 'Ali Nasir give up the prime minister's position?

Less than 1 week after 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il, the former prime minister, arrived in Aden, the Socialist Party announced major, radical changes. 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il took over the responsibilities for the Secretariat of the General Command and the parties' committees. He also became secretary of the steering committee for the party's general conference which is to be held in October this year.

The Supreme People's Council also held an emergency meeting on Thursday, February 14 that lasted over 7 hours. During that meeting 'Ali Nasir Muhammad announced his resignation as prime minister. That was a step that, on the one hand, 'Ali 'Antar and, on the other hand, 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's group had been striving for. In view of that fact, the council appointed Mr Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, who is, at least so far, a supporter of 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, member of the Presidential Council and new prime minister. 'Ali Nasir was to stay as head of state and secretary general of the Socialist Party until the General Party Conference is convened. The council created a ministry for energy and minerals; it changed the name of the State Security Committee to the Ministry of State Security; and it also changed the name of the Information Committee to the Ministry of Information.

Observers noted that keeping Brig Gen 'Ali 'Antar out of all cabinet positions may be followed by some organizational and army problems, especially since 'Ali 'Antar has always served in every cabinet: he served in the Presidential Council since 1969; then he served in the Ministry of Defense and after that in the Ministry of Local Government. He also served as deputy prime minister. Also the area of al-Dali' is considered as though it were an area with its own independent government. Also, Ahmad Musa'id Husayn al-Jabwani, the new minister of state security is known to be a bloodthirsty killer. Observers think that the fact that he is joining this cabinet after a lengthy absence--he dropped out of sight since the death of Salim Rabi' 'Ali--indicates that events during the next stage will be grave. Having the name of the Security Committee changed to a ministry

with all the powers of a ministry and having 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il in the organization are other indications that the next stage will be one of grave events. Individuals will be assassinated and eliminations in the ranks of party leaders will be extensive. Political observers and analysts are not ruling out the possibility that opponents of the regime inside the country and abroad will be affected by those events.

A paragraph in the address that al-'Attas, the new prime minister delivered to the People's Council when he took the constitutional oath of office attracted attention.

The new prime minister said that his new government "would go out of its way to strengthen its defensive capabilities since security and stability are one's primary preoccupation," etc.

This is considered tantamount to a green light for carrying out new sabotage activities in neighboring areas. These developments will affect the entire area, particularly if they are linked with the swift and successive return of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il and his people to the state, government and the party, after they gain control.

8592

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AFGHANISTAN

# REPORTS ON ELECTIONS OF LOYA JIRGAH CLAIM ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 17 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] Elections to Loya Jirgah (grand assembly) which is to be held in the current Afghan year under a decision of the Revolutionary Council are continuing. Till now elections have been completed in 22 provinces out of 29 provinces. The latest reports of elections are from Kabul, Ghazni, Logar Zabul, Farah, Herat, among others.

The election of the representatives of the people for the Loya Jirgah is taking place through traditional tribal and popular jirgahs in each province in a democratic and free atmosphere. The people have welcomed this great event with great enthusiasm and are electing their representatives to the Loya Jirgah.

The electoral sessions are opened with recital of verses from the holy Quran and thereafter the decree of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA dated 3 April 1985 is read to the participants of each jirgah. The electors then chose their reforesentatives in accordance with the popular national and tribal traditions and curstoms. Usually the vote is unanimous.

The number of the representatives elected in the provinces is not reported in yesterday's issue is as follows, "Kabul Province 37 representatives; Ghazni province 51 representatives; Logar Province 23 representatives; Zabul Province 22 representatives; Farah Province 20 representatives; Herat Province 100 representatives; Jauzjan Province 45 representatives; Fariab Province 49 representatives.

Reports from the said Provinces add that at the end of each jirgah the official credentials of each representative were prepared and approved by the respective courts of the provinces.

The reports add, that the working people including workers, peasants, clergymen and elders of various provinces and of the capital by organising mass rallies, marches and tribal gatherings have extended their full support to the convocation of the Loya Jirgah.

The participants of such gatherings while characterising the convening of the Loya Jirgah as a great historical event have called its convocation as a manifestation of deep respect of the party and revolutionary state to the popular traditions and customs of the people.

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AFGHANISTAN

CONVOCAATION OF LOYA JIRGAH ASSURES PARTICIPATION OF MASSES

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 16 Apr 85 pp 1-2

[Text] The convocation of Loya Jirgah (grand assembly) sometime this Afghan year would be a most major event in the national life of Afghanistan.

The Loya Jirgah is to discuss, inter alia the ways of ensuring peace and security in the country, ending the interferences of imperialist and reactionary forces in the internal affairs of the DRA, putting an end to the undeclared war against the country and prevention of the bloodshed of one Afghan by another. This democratic and representative institution will also discuss measures for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the national democratic April Revolution and for ensuring ever increasing participation of broad masses in this cause. It will help the state to learn what the authoritative representatives of the people think about the domestic and foreign policy of the PDPA and the state of the DRA.

Holding of national jirgahs and the convocation of Loya Jirgah are among the popular and national traditions of Afghanistan. In the crucial moments of history, when the question of destiny of homeland and people arose the Afghan people have solved their acute national, historical problems through convening Loya Jirgahs.

At times when Afghanistan was the target of the onslaught of colonialists and invaders particularly in the 19th century when the Afghan people were confronted with tenacious attacks of British colonialists, the Loya Jirgahs played an effective role in the defence of the freedom and independence of the country, and in the struggle against aggressors as well as in maintaining peace and security in the country.

During the past more than fifty years the Loya Jirgahs have in one way or the other reflected the will of Afghan people in safeguarding and strengthening of the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. They have helped in determining the fundamental principles of the domestic and foreign policy of Afghanistan, e.g., keeping away from aggressive military blocs and the Afghan-Soviet friendship.

The PDPA and the state of the DRA, paying profound respect to the national-historical traditions of our people have summoned Loya Jirgah, with the

participation of the elected representatives of the people from all over the country, at one of the most critical moments of the history of our country.

The decision about convening the Loya Jirgah was taken by the Revolutionary Council at a time when the April Revolution and its new and evolutionary phase, being the outcome of the law-governed struggle of our people have paved the way for advancement and blossoming of the country and provided the real possibilities for participation of nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups in the cause of building a just and new society.

Simultaneous with the forging ahead of our revolution and expansion of its gains in the interest of the working masses, the interferences of reaction, imperialism and hegemonism in the internal affairs of our country have gained broader dimensions. The historical enemies of our homeland, people and revolution expanding the scope of the undeclared war against the DRA and intensifying aggressions against our country intend to prevent the normalisation of situation.

The enemies of the Afghan people employ the Afghan who fell into the propagandistic trap of the enemy and fled the country for achieving their ominous goals. The interference and aggression of reaction and imperialism pose a direct menace to the peace and security of the region.

It is because of this that maintaining peace and security in the country, cessation of interferences of reactionary and imperialist forces in our home affairs, putting an end to the undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan and ending of blood shed of one Afghan by another, form the main tasks of present condition. That is why the call for convening Loya Jirgah is being broadly welcomed by all national, patriotic and progressive forces.

The working people of Afghanistan who with the victory of April Revolution determined their fate once and for all, have now a great event before them. The representatives of the people would discuss, just like their forefathers did, the most important national and historical issues in these hard moments of history. They would reflect the single will of the Afghan people for accomplishing the tasks which the history placed before them.

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AFGHANISTAN

ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO LOYA JIRGAH UNDER WAY

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 16 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] KABUL, (BIA)--The high powered commission for organising of elections and holding of Loya Jirgah (grand assembly) has notified the following:

In accordance with the decrees of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA dated 6 April, 1985 and dated 7 April 1985, about the holding of the elections to the Loya Jirgah which had been notified to the Election Commission in the provinces, the elections of the representatives of the people to the Loya Jirgah have begun throughout the country.

The elections have already taken place in 13 provinces out of the 29 provinces, including Paktia, Kunduz, Helmand, Parwan, Uruzgan, and others.

The elections of the representatives for Loya Jirgah is done by holding traditional Jirgahs in each province in a democratic and free atmosphere. The people have welcomed this great event with great enthusiasm and are electing their representatives to the Loya Jirgah.

At the electoral sessions the decree of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA dated 3 April 1985 is read out to the participants of each Jirgah, whereafter the working people of the country in accordance to the popular national and tribal traditions and customs, elect their authoritative representatives.

According to reports reaching here from the provinces of the country, various tribes, nationalities and ethnic groups are electing their authoritative representatives through convening tribal Jirgahs.

The number of the representatives elected in the said provinces is as follows, "Paktia province 48 representatives, Kunduz province 60 representatives; Helmand province 27 representatives; Parwan province 44 representatives, Uruzgan province 31 representatives; Laghman province 25 representatives, Kapisa province 19 representatives, Ghor province 28 representatives, Balkh province 65 representatives; Samangan province 21 representatives; Nangarhar province 83 representatives; Wardak province 28 representatives and eight representatives from Nimroze province.

All these representatives were elected in a democratic and fraternal atmosphere. Members and alternate members of the PDPA CC were present at election meetings.

Reports from the said provinces add that at the end of each Jirgah the official credentials of the elected representatives were prepared and approved by the respective courts of the provinces.

The elections of the representatives of people, to the Loya Jirgah are continuing in other provinces.

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AFGHANISTAN

# PRESS CONSIDERS CONVOCAION OF LOYA JIRGAH EFFECTIVE FOR NATIONAL UNITY

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 16 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] KABUL, (BIA)--News and views about the proposed convocation of Loya Jirgah (Grand Assembly) as a most effective measure for the consolidation of national unity were prominently displayed by all the dailies in Kabul yesterday.

Wasai Kargar, Chairman of Kabul City Council of the Trade Unions said in an interview with a correspondent of daily Hewad that the workers of Kabul city are overjoyed to hear about the convocation of the traditional Loya Jirgah and consider it a constructive measure for the consolidation of peace and security in the country.

Taking into account the present sensitive conditions of the country and the historical, national, cultural and religious traditions of the Afghan people the PDPA and the state of the DRA decided to hold a Loya Jirgah during the current Afghan year. Wasai Kargar emphasised that it is significant in that the people of Afghanistan would find the opportunity to express their views through their representatives.

Maulavi Abdul Hakim, a prominent clergyman in Kang district of Nimroze province, stated that the convocation of Loya Jirgah is a national and historical tradition of the Afghan people. The Afghan people, he stressed, have always put forward the important issues in such jirgahs for consultation and decisions have been taken collectively about the destiny of the people.

Daily Anis recalls editorially that the party and the state of the DRA have been attaching considerable importance to the convocation of Loya Jirgah after the April Revolution (1978), particularly after the establishment of the National Fatherland Front (NFF), established in 1980.

The daily emphasises that the convocation of Loya Jirgah at national level will play a decisive role in putting an end to the undeclared war of imperialism against the DRA--the routing of the counter-revolutionary elements as well as in the consolidation of the state sovereignty.

Daily Anis publishes an interview with Ghulam Mohammad Arizad an old citizen of Kabul.



He said: "Loya Jirgah is considered as the favourite tradition and custom of our nation and the greatest manifestation of the will of the people that is workers, peasants, craftsmen, patriotic clergy and other working people, democratic and patriotic forces of our country. The convening of the Loya Jirgah in our country is regarded necessary under present conditions when our revolutionary country is faced with the shameless and furious aggression of international reaction headed by the US imperialism, Chinese chauvinism, Pakistani militarists, reaction of Iran and other countries attached to international imperialism, for putting an end to foreign intervention, to ensure universal peace in the country and to stop the shedding of the blood of an Afghan by another Afghan. A large number of tribal chiefs, elders, patriotic clergymen, authorized representatives of the people will take part in this Loya Jirgah, and discuss among other things the foreign and domestic policy of the PDPA and the state of the DRA.

The convocation of this Loya Jirgah has a profound significance also for the social life of our working people.

CSO: 4600/423

AFGHANISTAN

PEASANTS MOBILIZED FOR COOPERATIVES

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 9 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] A seminar of cooperative heads was held recently in the centre of the union of peasants cooperatives of the DRA.

Participants exchanged views on the solution of problems of cooperatives and ways for further improvement of the cooperative movement in the country.

A KNT correspondent interviewed some of the participants of the seminar, the brief account of which is presented herewith: "Mohammad Ibrahim "Kargar" President of the union of peasants cooperative of Herat Province assessing the work and results of the seminar said "the union of peasants cooperatives of Herat was founded in the year 1360 HS. Later the agricultural, consumer goods and handicrafts cooperatives were subsequently formed.

The union initially had 61 members at its provincial council. Later peasants' cooperatives were formed in Injeel, Nizami Shahid, Shindand, and Kushk districts. Right now the number of its members reaches 9000. The union has 24 cooperatives with 5000-members and 17 consumer goods' cooperatives with 4000-members including 460 women. Two thousand of the union's members have acquired the membership of the groups of the defenders of revolution. They defend their cooperatives and the gains of the revolution.

The consumer goods' cooperatives have 19 sale outlets. These stores sell primary goods at reasonable prices, i.e. ten to 30 per cent cheaper than the market price by selling consumer goods and purchasing the surplus agricultural products of its members these cooperatives made a net profit of 2.5 million Afghanis, during the year 1363 (ended March 20, 1985), and have a total capital of Afs six million.

Two handicraft cooperatives have recently started functioning in the province.

Forty literacy courses are functioning within the framework of the cooperatives of the Herat Province.

The union of peasants cooperatives of Herat province procured 1500 tons of agricultural products and 50 million Afghanis worth consumer goods and sold them to the compatriots through various retail and wholesale stores during the said period.

In accordance to a protocol signed between the union of the peasants cooperatives of the province and the central council of the union of peasants cooperatives of the DRA at the end of the year 1362 (1983) the former was accredited with a long-term loan for two million Afghanis, which would be used for purchasing agricultural products and establishing free sale outlets in the province.

Likewise according to the resolution of the CC of the PDPA the union, signed a protocol concerning the supply of quality crops to the army division No 17 of the province and police command of Ghor province.

According to the resolutions of the Council of Ministers adopted in the session of the cotton growers of the country, the union has provided eleven items at the cost of around 4.5 million Afghanis to cotton growers. Over 50 peasants councils which taken an active part in the implementation of the democratic land and water reforms have been established in Herat Province.

Nafisa, President of the Shabnam cooperative, while characterising the cooperative seminar in Kabul as fruitful and valuable, added, "The Shabnam cooperative was founded in the year 1983 as a social organisation". "The member of the cooperative are women who had no economic activity previously, but after the foundation of the cooperative joined it with much enthusiasm.

On the one hand the products of the Shabnam cooperative by competing with foreign products, prevent the outflow of the hard currency abroad, and on the other, assist the peasants and all other working people to elevate their living standards.

The main products of the cooperative are women and children's outfits, the raw materials of which are procured from the local markets. In order to strengthen its financial base the cooperative accepts individual offers for all kinds of dresses.

A large number of the cooperatives members are enrolled in the literacy courses, trade unions, primary party organisations and in the WDOA. "In conclusion she said, "the seminar was unique and new for me, since I myself do not have much understanding in the field of cooperatives, thus the seminar was so useful and valuable for me."

Ghulam Sakhi Darwishi, President of the consumer goods cooperative of the Deh Sabz district of Kabul Province said, "The consumer goods cooperative of the district was founded in 1981 with an initial capital of 400,000 Afghanis whereas the total capital of the cooperative reaches to two million Afghanis now.

It has 566 members. It is worth mentioning that the cooperative sells the offered goods 30 percent lower than the market price through its stores in various parts of the province. Peasants constitute the members of the cooperatives. The members of the cooperatives sell their surplus products to the cooperative and at the meanwhile purchase their required goods cheaper from the cooperative.

To ensure welfare and prosperity of peasantry masses the party and state have established the peasants cooperatives on areas close to the residential places of peasants and endeavoured to strengthen and develop the peasants cooperatives throughout the country to stabilize the prices in the country. It is also envisaged to establish a number of other consumer stores in the country to render better services to the compatriots."

Darwishi concluded, "In order to inspect the system of work of the cooperatives I had a visit to the Soviet Union in the year 1360, which was very useful for me. Moreover I should add that the Kabul seminar was very informative and valuable.

CSO: 4600/424

AFGHANISTAN

PUBLIC POLLED ON CONVENING OF LOYA JIRGAH

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 15 Apr 85 pp 1-2

[Text] Abdul Hakim Aram, a worker of metal shop of Jangalak Factory:

"In my opinion the convening of the Loya Jirgah in the present conditions when an undeclared war of imperialism is continuing against our homeland and revolution, is of great importance and will bear tangible results.

In the course of more than six years since the victory of the revolution, our revolutionary state has proved to our working people that it is a popular and workers' state. Therefore, the Loya Jirgah will have a genuinely democratic and popular character, and will adopt decisions related to the destiny of every individual of our country.

"As the experience shows, good results have been achieved from convening tribal jirgahs, which have been and are being held in the villages and towns of the country. A number of our people who were earlier misled by the enemies, came over again to the side of their revolutionary state and voluntarily took positions in the defence of the revolution. Certainly the convening of the Loya Jirgah will be more effective both for the further strengthening of the revolutionary power and ensuring of peace and tranquillity in our country."

Ghulam Nabi, a peasant and a member of the group of Defenders of the Revolution in Gulkhana village of Kabul:

"Our people may remember that Loya Jirgahs were also held during the past. Now, we are informed that our revolutionary state wants to revive the past tradition of the people. However, this time it will be people's representatives who will form the Loya Jirgah which will be held in Kabul for ensuring tranquillity in our homeland, ending fratricide and for annihilating the counter-revolution. The Loya Jirgah is a tradition among our people. In order to do away with the differences the people should join their hands and inflict shattering blows on the enemies of our homeland and revolution. They should make their homeland developed and tranquil under the leadership of their party and state."

Mawlawi Mohammad Azim Ahmadi, an employee of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Religious Trusts of the DRA and a resident of Bamian Province:

"Convening of the Loya Jirgah for discussing basic issues and problems of our country under present conditions is one of the signs of our revolutionary state's popular character. This decision of the state means that our people must not be influenced by the enemies of our homeland and revolution, fight against the manifestations of war which cause misery and backwardness of our country and nation. All these aspirations conform wholly to the Islamic rules. The revolutionary state shows in practice that it attaches deep respect to the traditions of the people and values and directives of the sacred religion of Islam, and regards the people as the best pillar of its power.

"Our state wants all fraternal tribes and nationalities of the country to strive for ensuring peace and tranquillity in the country and building a prosperous society to lead a honourable life in their united and ancient homeland Afghanistan and to work jointly for its development. When a nation gets united it certainly overcomes all problems".

Zamin Ali, a soldier of 22nd Brigade for ensuring order and security of highways, and a resident of Wardak Province:

"the convening of the Loya Jirgah under the present conditions of our homeland is a timely measure. The representatives of the people will gather, discuss and adopt decisions on the issues related to the situation of the country and foreign and domestic policy of the party and the revolutionary state, and questions pertaining to the maintenance of tranquillity and security in our homeland. Because, now we are facing with an undeclared war of imperialism and reaction. In this imposed war, imperialism not only wants to impede the rapid development of revolutionary transformation in our country, but also to deceive a number of our compatriots by utilizing different pretexts, train and send them to their ancestral land for carrying out subversion and killings.

"Therefore, under such conditions it is necessary that the people's representatives ought to gather and seek ways for the cessation of the undeclared war of imperialism, prevention of war and blood shed. Finally, the glorious April Revolution, which triumphed for the prosperity of the people and the development of our homeland, must achieve its final victory, and make our people tranquil and our homeland developed and blossoming."

CSO: 4600/425

AFGHANISTAN

IRAN ACCUSED OF MISTREATING AFGHAN NATIONALS

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 8 Apr 85 pp 1-2

[Text]

The reactionary ruling circles of Iran have committed a fresh crime against the Afghan emigres by organizing an attack by Pasdaran (Iranian guards) against Afghan nationals living in Meshed. This attack resulted in 10 Afghans being dead and over 100 wounded.

A Bakhtar political commentator writes in this connection:

It is not the first time that the reactionary Iranian authorities have resorted to organisation of such an inhuman crime. During similar attacks by Pasdaran which took place earlier in Jawadia, Maidane Mawlawi in Teheran, Wramin, Kurch, Sada, Shiraz and Meshed hundreds of Afghan emigres were killed and a large number wounded.

The aim behind organising such bloody incidents, particularly the recent one in Meshed, forcing the Afghan emigres to obtain Iranian identity cards and residence permits and their transfer from the frontier provinces to the central regions of Iran is completely obvious.

Resorting to such inhumane actions, the reactionary ruling circles of Iran want to pressurize Afghan emigres to become means for the implementation of the reactionary policy of that country and cannon fodder in the Iran-Iraq war.

To achieve this end, the reactionary ruling authorities of Iran utilising the ringleaders of the terrorist Afghan counter-revolutionary bands as well as various deceitful tricks strive to keep the Afghans who mistakenly went over to Iran unaware of the social progress made by revolutionary Afghanistan.

The Iranian authorities try to keep our compatriots uninformed about the general amnesty decreed by the state of DRA for returning Afghan nationals. If they would know of it they would return to their ancestral land and get rid of all the misery and vagabondage, to which they are doomed in Iran. On return home, of course, they would be provided with proper working and living conditions.

Experience shows that whenever our deceived compatriots living abroad realise the truth of the revolution and decide to return to their ancestral homeland, the Iranian authorities take all kinds of illegal measures including organisation of bloody incidents so as to prevent their return. The recent incident in Meshed city can be cited as a glaring example of the inhumane and criminal deeds of the Iranian authorities.

We firmly believe that neither the ruling reactionary authorities of Iran nor other reactionary forces of the world would be able to conceal the truth through committing such criminal deeds. They would not be able to mislead the masses for ever.

Our deceived compatriots are forcibly kept by the Iranian authorities in the camps at Gorgan, Asfahan, Yazd, Pirchand and

Kirman are facing numerous problems including shortage of food, unemployment, lack of housing, absence of medicine. They are treated insultingly and are forcibly sent to Iraq-Iran war as well as to anti-Afghanistan operations.

These Afghan emigres have now realised the truth of the April Revolution and the popular policies of the party and revolutionary state aimed at people's welfare. Despite all hindrances and problems created by the reactionary authorities of Iranian regime they are returning to their country. They come out in defence of the gains of the revolution.

The return of the disillusioned Afghans in groups to their free and independent country is a vivid manifestation of the fact that no power can prevent Afghans, wherever they may be, from realizing the truth.



AFGHANISTAN

#### NEW SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION PROJECTED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 17 Apr 85 p 4

[Text] Thirty three new primary and two high schools were established last Afghan year in the country. Meanwhile, 10 primary schools and 6 secondary schools were promoted to secondary and higher secondary schools respectively during the same period.

The head of the Planning Department of the Education Ministry told a reporter of Haqiqate-Enqilab-e-Saur that 115,000 children of schools going age were enrolled this year in the first grade and over 31,000 graduates of the eight grade were accepted in the 9th grade of the schools.

This year's plan for construction of new schools and creches includes the setting up of 38 primary schools and 5 higher secondary schools, promotion of 20 primary schools to the secondary schools and 35 secondary schools to the higher secondary schools the construction of one kindergarten and continuation of work on construction carried over projects of 14 schools in the capital as well as rehabilitation of 5 schools in the central zone and 10 other schools in other provinces of the country.

Tragically after the April Revolution, 1814 schools were partially or wholly destroyed by the counter-revolutionaries throughout the country. Of these 198 schools have been repaired, 17 schools have been rehabilitated, 19 schools have newly been built and additional rooms for 20 schools have been constructed since 1983.

Regarding the organisation of the new education system in the DRA, he said, that the new system has a progressive content and the work to introduce it throughout the country is continuing.

During 198 the new system was introduced in 704 primary schools.

It is envisaged to provide new books and teaching aids for the 7th grade of the schools this year. The new education program and teaching aids for different subjects in various languages of different nationalities of the country.

In addition to regular educational activity literary, artistic and sport committees have also been opened in the schools.

The participation of parents in improving learning by their children in the schools has increased through the pupils' parents committees in the schools.

With the establishment of Pedagogical Councils in the schools the state education is considerably improving.

CSO: 4600/424

AFGHANISTAN

DRA BOASTS SUCCESS IN AGRICULTURAL SPHERES

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 8 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

Despite the conditions of the undeclared war imposed on the DRA by imperialism and reaction the DRA has been able to achieve major successes in agricultural sphere, writes a commentator of the BIA.

The process of the implementation of the democratic land and water reforms is in full swing. Over 682 million hectares of agricultural land has been distributed to over 312,000 landless peasants and petty land holders during the past seven years.

With the help of the state peasants cooperatives have been and are being established throughout the country. Presently, 51,000 peasants are enrolled in 321 agricultural cooperatives.

In order to put agriculture on a modern footing, a number of mechanized agricultural farms have been established in the country. Four

Four olive and citrus fruit plantations with processing units have been built with the help of the Soviet Union which produce 8 thousand tons of citrus fruit and 2 thousand tons of olive annually.

The state has provided numerous facilities to the peasants during the current spring sowing campaign. The government envisages to bring under cultivation an area of 233,7000 hectares of new land this year.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reforms of the DRA plans to supply to peasants 6700 tons of chemical fertilizers, 11000 tons of improved wheat and cotton seeds, pesticides and insecticides costing about Afs. 45 millions during the current year. Agricultural credits worth 142.25 million Afs. will also be provided during the said period.

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

SOVIET TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE--KABUL (BIA)--A number of agreements on Soviet technical assistance to the DRA in the establishment of a centre for treating the disabled and manufacturing artificial limbs in Kabul city, and seven agricultural mechanized stations in different provinces as also on the extension of the service term of Soviet experts working on the Master Plan of Kabul city, were signed here on Saturday. The documents were signed on the Afghan side by Sarwar Mangal, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and on the Soviet side by the economic counsellor of the Embassy of the USSR in Kabul. Under these agreements the Soviet Union will send orthopedic and prosthetic medical personnel to work at the 200-bed Kabul hospital for the rehabilitation of disabled. The hospital will be built and equipped with gratis Soviet assistance. The Soviet Union will also provide technical assistance to the DRA in the mechanization of agriculture and also in the implementation of the Master Plan of Kabul city. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 8 Apr 85 p 1]

KINDERGARTENS EXPANDING--KABUL (BIA)--Proper upbringing of children has always been the focal point of attentions of the PDPA and the Government of the DRA. Increasing numbers of kindergartens and nurseries are being constantly built all over the country. In the pre-revolution years there existed only a few kindergartens in Afghanistan and only the wealthy were entitled to benefit from them. However, the April Revolution along with other reforms, established justice and provided the opportunity for workers and government employees to admit their children to kindergartens and nurseries. After the April revolution numerous kindergartens and nurseries came into being one after another in the capital as well as in provinces of Afghanistan. In addition to regular kindergartens and nurseries created in the residential areas of Afghanistan, work-place kindergartens and nurseries are also being established at factories, enterprises and ministries, where concerned workers and employees can admit their children at nominal fees. Three kindergartens were opened recently in the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Justice and Central Statistical department in Kabul. The kindergartens are well-staffed and contain proper facilities for the children. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 17 Apr 85 p 4]

CSO: 4600/426

INDIA

SIXTH PLAN REVIEWED, SEVENTH PLAN CHALLENGES NOTED

Madras THE HINDU in English Survey of Indian Industry 1984 pp 5-10

[Article by P. A. Seshan]

[Text]

**With two successive bumper crops, a marked recovery in industrial production and an improved infrastructure, the Indian economy on the eve of the Seventh Plan is well poised for a fresh thrust in new directions. The private industrial corporate sector can hope to play a more active role in this challenging task aided by more flexible government policies. This year's Survey gives an overview of the achievements of the Sixth Plan while indicating the future lines of development in the next few years.**

**T**HE performance of the Indian economy in the terminal year of the Sixth Plan has been fairly impressive because of the creditable contribution of the agricultural sector for the second consecutive season and definite indications of a pick-up in industrial production. But the anticipated significant revival in activity in various sectors has not materialised and the cumulative effect of a pronounced increase in Government spending and rural incomes is yet to be reflected in brisker demand for manufactured and other goods. While infrastructure constraints are still preventing the best use of facilities created at heavy cost,

the output of many industries may not be easily absorbed when new and expansion schemes take full shape as a result of an unprecedented outlay in many directions, in the absence of suitable measures for stimulating internal consumption and exports.

For the first time in recent years, there is plentiful availability of food-grains and the Government agencies are experiencing great difficulty in maintaining properly bulging buffer-stocks. The shortages in manufactured goods are confined to a few items like steel and non-ferrous metals mainly on account of power shortage inhibiting operations of the industries

concerned though inefficient functioning of some public sector units also has been a contributory factor. There is no dearth of supplies in other directions and unregulated imports have even necessitated the suspension of production by quite a few industrial units for short spells.

With the inflation rate under control and no disturbing trend in the cost of living indices, the Sixth Plan is not ending on a discordant note in spite of many shortfalls over physical targets. The lag in progress in some segments of the public sector is being offset to a certain extent by the rapid strides made by the private industrial corporate sector in many divisions.

The new Government at the Centre, with its massive mandate from the electorate, is thus in a position to formulate its economic policies boldly. But the bottlenecks in financial resources have to be overcome with proposals of a novel character. All the ingredients for finalising a bigger Seventh Plan are thus present and a new phase of economic development can be initiated if only the remaining weaknesses in the agricultural and industrial sectors can be eliminated and an integrated approach adopted to outstanding issues. An attempt has been made in this year's Survey to highlight the bright spots and draw attention also to the difficulties in reconciling conflicting objectives.

#### **Creditable role of farm sector**

The outstanding feature of the economy is the creditable performance of the agricultural sector for two seasons in succession. The spurt in output of foodgrains in 1983-84 to 151.6 million tonnes from 128.35 million tonnes in 1982-83 and the previous record of 133.30 million tonnes in 1981-82 was unbelievable. Even the achievement of the last season is likely to be surpassed in 1984-85 as the target of 153.60 million tonnes may be exceeded taking into account the bumper harvest of the kharif season and the encouraging reports about rabi crops for 1984-85.

The food situation has thus distinctly improved and the Union Ministry of Agriculture has been obliged to maintain huge buffer stocks. This may exceed 25 million tonnes in July 1985 because the procurement of wheat and other cereals may be 19 million tonnes, if not more, while the offtake may not be more than 12-13 million tonnes in 12 months. As a result of higher procurement prices and purchases, food credit had risen to Rs. 5,912.39 crores on February 1, 1985 from Rs. 4,206.9 crores on February 3, 1984.

With continuing procurement of rice and the likelihood of purchases of wheat around nine million tonnes in April-July, there may be a net addition to buffer stocks by at least five million tonnes in February-July and food credit may rise to over Rs. 6,500 crores by the middle of 1985. In these circumstances, limited quantities of foodgrains can be exported for augmenting foreign exchange earnings and reducing the burden of subsidies.

If the cost of storage and interest charges is not taken into consideration, there will not be any loss on exports as world prices are higher than procurement rates. As the Soviet Union and other countries are interested in foodgrain imports, the opportunity should be utilised for maximising exports and reducing buffer stocks to manageable levels.

The remaining weaknesses in the agricultural sector have not, however, been eliminated. The output of pulses has not recorded any significant improvement while there is a persisting deficit in edible oils. The cotton growers, have, of course, been doing a good job though their efforts were thwarted for some time due to unseasonal and excessive rains in the growing areas and the yield dipped to 75 lakh bales in 1983-84 from the earlier estimate of 90 lakh bales. Luckily, there has been a recovery in 1984-85 and the new crop is placed at 86-88 lakh bales. The excess production of long staple varieties can be utilised for reducing the imbalance in pattern by permitting exports and facilitating imports of medium and short staple varieties.

The jute crop has failed for the second consecutive season and some measures have to be adopted for raising output especially as there is no fear of a diversion of area under this crop for cultivating others more remuneratively. The fluctuations in sugarcane production too have created problems for sugar mills with a diversion of supplies also for being converted into gur and khandsari. The output of sugar plummeted to 58.89 lakh tonnes in 1983-84 from 82.30 lakh tonnes in 1982-83. But for the existence of huge stocks, the surge in internal consumption could not have been met.

The Government nevertheless decided to import five lakh tonnes as a measure of abundant caution. As the outlook for the 1984-85 season is not promising, there may be compulsion to import larger quantities for preventing a speculative rise in prices. The policy relating to the fixation of minimum price for cane and retention prices for levy sugar clearly needs to

be revised. There should also be no complicating effect on account of the arbitrary fixation of cane prices by State Governments as these are not taken into account for determining the cost of levy sugar and the profitability of working of sugar mills has been seriously affected leading to mounting arrears of payments against cane purchases.

The industrial sector could acquit itself more creditably as a significantly higher level of production is being registered in many directions in 1984-85. This was mainly on account of an easier power situation and larger coal supplies to the steel and other major industries despite railway bottlenecks in some regions. The output of steel of the integrated plants will be rising to 7.10 million tonnes from 6.40 million tonnes and that of mini steel units to 1.87 million tonnes from 1.80 million tonnes in 1983-84.

The aluminium smelters too have been utilising their capacity more effectively and their share will constitute a record at 2.60 lakh tonnes against 2.15 lakh tonnes. The cement industry has been making impressive progress and a new peak of 32.5 million tonnes will be reached against 27.1 million tonnes in 1983-84. The output of crude from off-shore and on-shore areas will be higher by three million tonnes at 29.60 million tonnes and that of refined petroleum products at 34.7 million tonnes representing an increase of eight per cent. Coal raisings have not risen as expected but due to faulty distribution, stocks at pitheads have been moving up.

Other industries too have been faring better though recession in the textile industry, glut in heavy chemicals and light engineering products have prevented full use of their existing and newly created facilities. Also, as stated earlier, the sugar industry is likely to have another difficult season as its contribution may not be more than 65 lakh tonnes.

The automobile units, particularly those producing heavy commercial vehicles, have been hit by slackening demand and no noticeable increase in output could be achieved. But the producers of light commercial vehicles and two-wheelers are having grandiose plans. The plantation industries are, of course, enjoying boom conditions and tea estates especially are having a prosperous time with highly remunerative sales in the domestic and overseas markets. The consumption of tea has been rising so dramatically within the country that it has been necessary to restrict exports even with an increase in production by 50 million kg to 635 million kg in 1984.

### Higher growth rate

The index for all industries has thus risen by 8.2 per cent in the nine months ended December 1984 and the average for the whole of 1984-85 may be 7.5 per cent as compared to 5.5 per cent in 1983-84 and the peak of 8.6 per cent in 1981-82. Even with a slightly higher growth rate in output problems in marketing are being encountered. These difficulties may be felt more acutely when the new schemes under implementation make their contribution to production because of slower rise in demand and unregulated imports.

There has been an unprecedented boom in new capital issues and investment in different sectors is taking place on a large scale. It is, therefore, unlikely that there will be any shortage of manufactured goods except in respect of some categories of steel, fertilizers and non-ferrous metals. Indeed, it is wondered in some quarters why there has been massive expansion of capacity in light engineering, heavy chemical, automobile and ancillary and tyre industries, when there has been no noticeable increase in offtake for the related products. The established units are incurring heavy capital expenditure on modernisation, expansion and new schemes with the average annual outlay around Rs. 5,000 crores.

### No resources problem

The required financial resources have been found through new capital issues, borrowing from financial institutions and internal resources. Confidence in the future of the economy and easy availability of financial resources from the capital market, on account of the helpful policies pursued by the Government in recent years, have enabled spectacular expansion of industrial units in many directions.

The amount mobilised through various instruments in 1984-85 may well be a fresh record at Rs. 1,000 crores against Rs. 809.20 crores in 1983-84 and Rs. 732.40 crores in 1982-83. The capacity of the capital market has improved considerably and it has been possible to make a resounding success of massive issues of non-convertible redeemable debentures as well as convertible bonds and equities.

In the earlier stages, the response from investors was mainly confined to prestigious FERA issues and offers of equity and convertible bonds by reputed Indian-owned companies. Subsequently, considerable interest is being shown in non-convertible redeemable bonds and the interest rate of 15 per cent available on a secured basis, along with buyback facilities and higher return cumulatively, have

enabled savers to obtain a fairly high yield with safety of investment. The capital market has thus remained buoyant for over four years.

#### **Record growth of bank deposits**

The siphoning off of large resources by industrial units in the private sector through issues of different types of debentures and the acceptance of deposits by them from shareholders and the public has not resulted in any slowing down of the rate of growth of deposits of the scheduled commercial banks so far in 1984-85. Actually, the additions to deposits have been taking place at a record rate, perhaps due to increasing monetisation of the economy and more successful tapping of rural savings and incomes with the spread also of the banking habit among different sections of the community.

Even allowing for an exaggeration of the increase in bank deposits on account of the provisional data and window dressing operations, it will not be incorrect to presume that the monthly increase in deposits is now around Rs. 900 crores. The actual rise under this head was Rs. 10,557 crores between March 30, 1984 and February 1, 1985 against only Rs. 8,331 crores in the same period in 1983-84. As the improvement was Rs. 11,122 crores in the 12 months ended February 1, 1985 against Rs. 8,896 crores in the year ended March 30, 1984, a new trend in deposit mobilisation has emerged. This warrants the conclusion that even with no improvement in the savings rate, a larger volume of financial resources could be secured for short-term lending and investment purposes. The pool can also be augmented with a defined increase in the national income.

The banking system, however, has not been comfortable in recent months as the credit policies of the Reserve Bank have been restrictive and available resources cannot be utilised fully on account of a high cash reserve ratio of nine per cent and the reintroduction of incremental CRR from the middle of November 1983. As the statutory liquidity ratio too was raised to 36 per cent from 35 per cent in two stages in July-September, 1984, the lending institutions have found it difficult to satisfy the requirements of all classes of borrowers.

The hardship experienced by industry and trade would have been felt more keenly had it not been for the sizable funds secured by them through new issues and deposits. Greater emphasis on assistance to borrowers in the priority sectors also has been responsible for a reduced proportion of new funds being available for non-priority borrowers.

As stringency in the money market has persisted even with larger borrowing of Rs. 2,075 crores as on January 25, 1985 by member banks from the Reserve Bank as compared to Rs. 548 crores on January 27, 1984, there is a clear case for revising credit policies and relaxing curbs on the use of bank funds and improving profitability of banks and relieving artificial stringency in the money market. The authorities can, of course, adopt suitable safeguards for preventing misapplication of resources by evolving new techniques. As changes in interest rates and credit policies are usually effected when the budget proposals are presented to Parliament, it remains to be seen whether a new approach will be adopted by the new incumbent in the next few weeks.

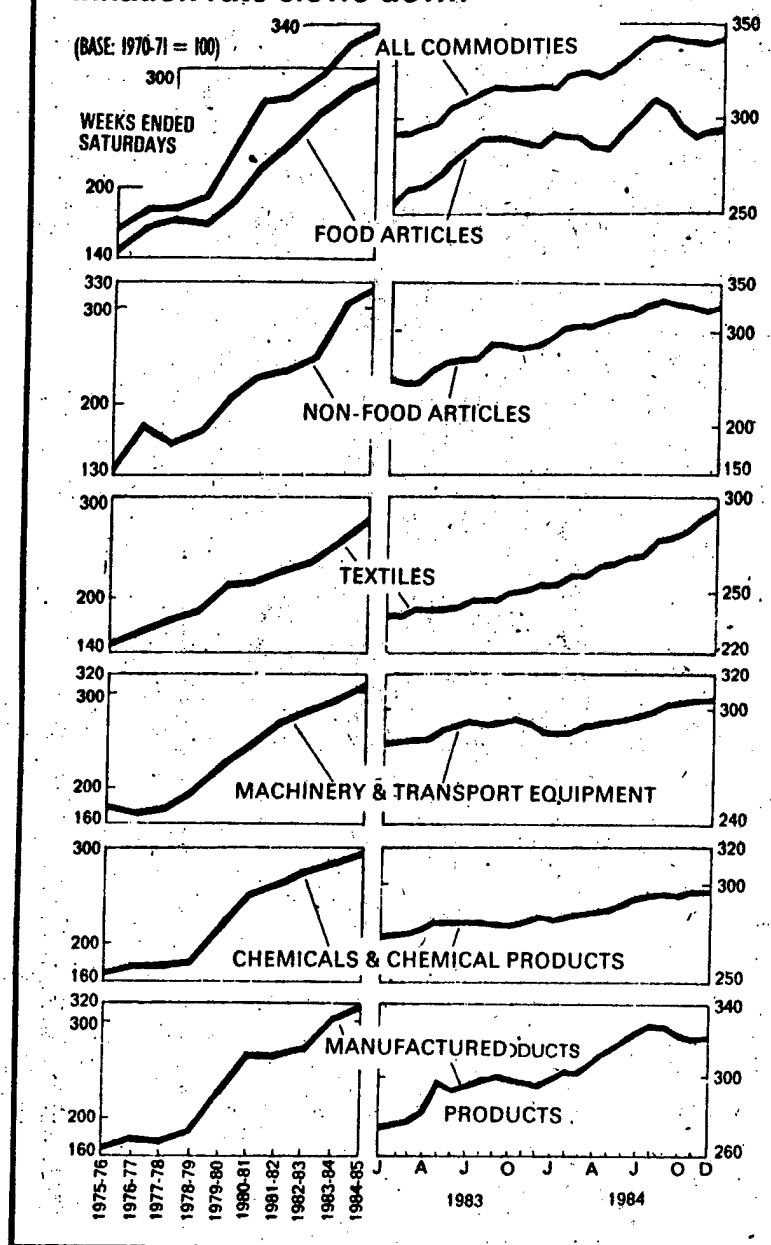
#### **Prices get under control**

The price situation has been encouraging as the inflationary rate could be moderated with the harvesting of bumper food crops. It is likely that the yield of food and cash crops in the 1984-85 agricultural season will be more balanced than in 1983-84. These favourable developments in two years have held down prices for many commodities. Also, there has lately been reversal of the uptrend in cotton. The net rise in wholesale prices on the basis of indices (base 1970-71=100) was thus 6.3 per cent in 1984 against 8.05 per cent in 1983. In the 12 months ended January 26, 1985, it was 4.9 per cent against 11.07 per cent in 1983-84. The cost of living index also has risen in a less pronounced manner as the index (base 1960=100) has increased by 5.2 per cent in 1984 against 12.5 per cent in 1983.

The higher bill on electricity, dairy products, fuel and other items has increased the cost of living. As adjustments in issue prices for cereals



## Inflation rate slows down



and administered prices for manufactured goods have to be effected, the inflation rate may not be much lower in 1985-86 than in 1984-85. As the new Government is likely to adopt a pragmatic approach and eliminate anomalies in the price structure, even while insisting on higher productivity and production, the new decisions will determine the extent of rise in prices for various items. The year 1985-86 is thus likely to witness interesting developments.

## Persisting huge trade gap

The gradual displacement of imports of crude and petroleum products, with an increase in indigenous output has not enabled the country to reduce the trade gap significantly in the past three years even with a lowering of OPEC-posted prices. The net oil import bill thus declined to Rs. 3,847 crores in 1983-84 from Rs. 4,441 crores in 1982-83. But there were larger purchases of fertilizers, edible oils, plant and machinery, intermediate products and other items. The sharp depreciation in value of the rupee in terms of the U.S. dollar also has exaggerated the rupee cost of imports. However, the value of exports has not increased correspondingly because of the absence of a more than proportionate increase in volume and difficulties in stepping up exports due to recession until recently in many countries and protectionist policies adopted by quite a few. The trade gap was actually at a record high at Rs. 5,875 crores in 1983-84 against Rs. 5,526 crores in 1982-83 and Rs. 5,868 crores in 1981-82.

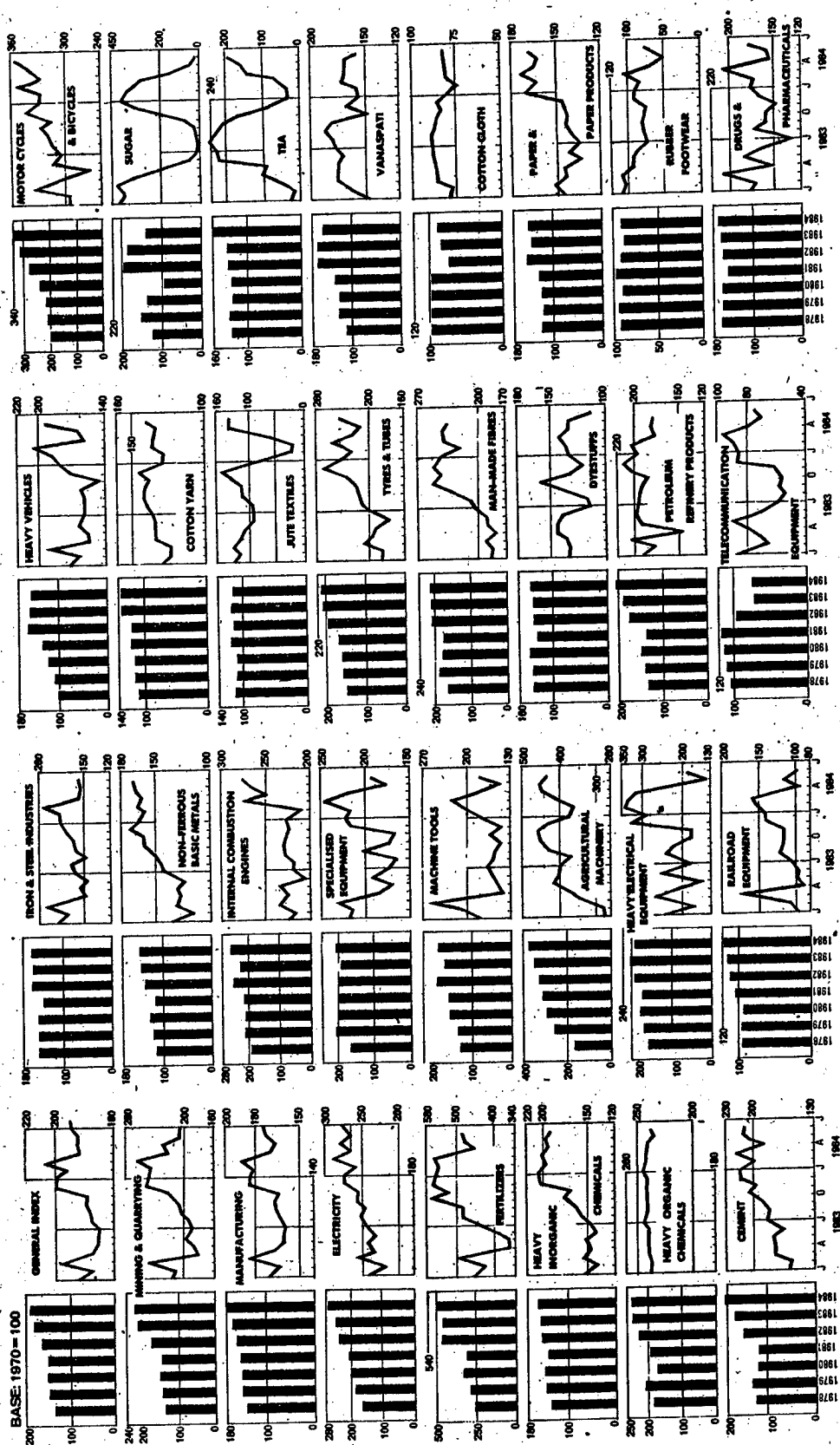
Thus, for the fourth year in succession the gap has been well over Rs. 5,000 crores even with an increase in exports by Rs. 3,032 crores in 1981-84 as imports also rose by Rs. 3,094 crores. This is a clear indication that the saving in oil imports has been more than offset by an increase in imports in other directions.

The heavy deficits could be bridged with the use of net foreign aid, invisible receipts and withdrawals of 3.9 billion SDRs against the IMF loan. The trend in foreign trade in 1984-85 also suggests that the deficit may be substantial even with the scope for securing larger foreign exchange earnings through plantation products with the realisation of higher unit prices, jute manufactures, leather and marine products and foodgrains.

The total value of exports may be around Rs. 11,100 crores in 1984-85 against Rs. 9,743 crores in 1983-84. As imports may rise to around Rs. 16,000 crores, the gap is likely to be around Rs. 4,900 crores. The provisional data for April-October indicate that the deficit was Rs. 2,608 crores against Rs. 2,744 crores in the corresponding period in 1983. As exports in October-March are likely to be much higher than in the same period in 1983-84 and imports of certain items are being regulated, the trade deficit can be reduced to around Rs. 4,900 crores as stated above.

The balance of payments problems have needlessly become more difficult because of the sharp depreciation in

# SIGNIFICANT RISE IN INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT



the external value of the rupee in terms of the U.S. dollar and some other major currencies. As explained earlier, the cost of imports has been unduly inflated and the gains through exports of a larger volume have not had any off-setting effect. The debt servicing obligations too have become more onerous, as it will be necessary to find larger amounts in rupees for effecting repayments against loans in foreign currencies. The loss thus sustained in respect of repayments to the International Monetary Fund and other creditor nations by the Government and against commercial borrowing by industrial units in the public and private sectors in foreign currencies will be fairly heavy.

It has, therefore, to be examined carefully whether the rupee has been allowed to depreciate unduly and it is desirable to change the basket of currencies for effecting adjustments in the external parity of the rupee periodically. Since the inflationary pressures are getting under control and higher level of indigenous production can take care of most of the country's requirements, any unmerited depreciation in rupee value should be rectified without delay.

There has, however, been no suggestion of strain on the balance of payments front so far. The foreign exchange assets held by the Reserve Bank in the Issue and Banking Departments stood at Rs. 4,926 crores on February 8, 1985 as compared to Rs. 4,688 crores on March 30, 1984. Since the withdrawal against the IMF loan during this period was only 200 million SDRs and the increase in foreign balances is nearly equal to this amount, the payments against imports have been largely completed with net aid, remittances and other invisible receipts.

In the same period in 1983-84, the foreign balances increased only modestly to Rs. 4,219 crores from Rs. 3,828 crores in spite of withdrawals of 1,300 million SDRs from the IMF. There has obviously been a contraction of the trade deficit in recent months apart from larger invisible receipts. There may not thus be any net drop in foreign balances with the Reserve Bank at the end of 1984-85.

However, a similar deficit in 1985-86 and subsequent years cannot be financed easily as it is unlikely that there will be a significant reduction in oil imports because of a slower rise in indigenous crude output and no scope for repeating the performance of 1980-85 in the absence of extremely favourable developments. A more serious effort has to be made for boosting

exports and substituting imports wherever possible with a higher level of indigenous production.

Besides instituting measures for boosting the yield of oilseeds and making the best use of available natural gas for raising the output of fertilizers, the scope for increasing foreign exchange earnings through limited exports of foodgrains and maximum shipments of plantation products should be fully exploited.

The progress recorded in the Sixth Plan is being assessed with a view to determining the sights for the Seventh Plan. While the outlay in financial terms is estimated to be higher at Rs. 110,000 crores against the original allocation of Rs. 97,500 crores, there will be shortfalls in physical targets in many sectors. The performance of the Indian economy in 1980-85, however, should be regarded as satisfactory because the growth in national income averaged 5.22 per cent and the target of 5.2 per cent will be slightly exceeded.

This success has been due mainly to the pronounced rise in agricultural production in four years out of five. The average growth was 7.2 per cent for the Plan period against the average of 2.7 per cent for the past 35 years. While this achievement is commendable, the average has been somewhat exaggerated as the sharp rebound of 7.9 per cent in 1980-81, the highest for the Plan period, was on a low base in 1979-80 when there was a severe drought. Similarly, there was a dip in 1982-83 to 1.7 per cent for the same reason and a big rise of 7.6 per cent in 1983-84 could be recorded with a spurt in the yield of foodgrains. The achievement of a growth rate of four per cent in 1984-85 should, therefore, be considered gratifying though the contribution of agriculture to the increase in GNP will be only one per cent (due to the excellent performance in 1983-84) and three per cent on account of the industrial sector.

Industrial production, however, has not improved as anticipated because infrastructural constraints and shortages of other inputs inhibited the operations of many industries. Until recently, domestic production was also discouraged due to keen competition from unregulated imports. The average increase in industrial production was thus 5.9 per cent against the target of 8-10 per cent. The surge in output of foodgrains in 1980-82 and 1983-85 and a moderate rise in industrial production have thus brought about an increase in national income by 29 per cent at constant prices and 106 per cent at current prices.

The content of the gross national product, however, has not been of the desired pattern and the cost of living has tended to rise faster than the inflation rate. Yet, the lot of many sections of the community has improved in real terms though much better progress could have been recorded if the bottlenecks in some directions had been eliminated. As regards the achievements in physical terms, the spurt in output of foodgrains to 153.6 million tonnes anticipated in 1984-85 compares favourably with the revised target of 146-148 million tonnes and even the original goal of 149-154 million tonnes.

The increases in yields of cash crops, however, have been uneven. Except in the case of cotton where the output in 1984-85 may be very near the target of 90 lakh bales at 88 lakh bales, the yield of other cash crops has not risen to the desired extent. As regards jute, the drop in output for two seasons in succession has created serious problems for the industry. In 1982-83, of course the Plan estimate of 7.1 million bales was touched. The area under sugarcane is determined by the remunerative character of other competing crops and prompt payments by sugar mills to cane growers. The availability in 1984-85 is thus likely to be 180 million tonnes as compared to the target of 200 million tonnes. It is needless to say that the deficiency in oilseeds has not been eliminated and a breakthrough is yet to be achieved.

#### **Uneven capacity utilisation**

In respect of industrial production, the bright spots relate to the spectacular rise in crude output from the off-shore and on-shore areas to 29.60 million tonnes against the target of 21.60 million tonnes. Coal output will be 10 per cent below the target at 148 million tonnes. The cement industry too has been outstanding with an impressive growth of 84 per cent in production in five years. The steel, aluminium, textile and heavy chemical and other industries have not fared well for different reasons. While the metallurgical industries were hit by shortage of power and coal, sluggish demand for textiles, heavy chemicals and other manufactured goods has prevented the industrial units from making the best use of their capacity. However, the shortages in many directions have largely disappeared and the glut in some sectors would have been even more pronounced if only power had been available in the required volume.

Against the expectation of an increase in generating capacity by

19,666 MW, the actual addition will not be more than 14,500 MW. Even this increase should be considered impressive. The persisting deficit of 10 per cent could, of course, have been eliminated if only the operating ratio of thermal generating sets had been raised to satisfactory levels.

The successes and failures of the Sixth Plan have their lessons for the planners when finalising the outlays for 1985-90. The paucity of financial resources is likely to be felt keenly in the coming years. Those in charge of various sectors are insisting that the allocation should be twice or three times those of 1980-85 on the ground that inflation and the need to overcome shortcomings dictate heavier investments in real terms. The power projects alone will require Rs. 67,500 crores, oil exploration and exploitation nearly Rs. 20,000 crores, telecommunications Rs. 13,000 crores, and Railways Rs. 16,925 crores.

#### **Need to recast priorities**

While it has been confirmed at the first meeting of the reconstituted Planning Commission that the financial outlay in the public sector would be Rs. 180,000 crores, the sectoral allocations would be known only when the Draft Plan gets ready in the next few months. The priorities will obviously have to be redetermined though agriculture, irrigation and power will again account for a good fraction of total outlay. The accent will necessarily have to be on strengthening the agricultural economy and eliminating its weaknesses as a continuing balance in agricultural production will be helpful in generating additional employment, improving rural incomes, avoiding imports of edible oils and pulses and even developing a lucrative export trade in foodgrains.

The expansion of communication facilities, modernisation and augmentation of railway services, a new thrust in respect of electronics industries also call for heavy investment. The Planners' task is unenviable as even for an outlay of Rs. 180,000 crores there may be a gap of over 20 per cent in the resources budget. Deficit financing will probably be about five per cent of the total, say Rs. 9,000 crores. The balance of about Rs. 25,000 crores will have to be found partly through additional taxation and mostly through borrowing. In fact, savings of the public sector will have to come largely from industrial undertakings, electricity boards and irrigation projects with a better use of facilities.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has gone on record stating

that the shortcomings of government-owned industrial undertakings will have to be overcome and far reaching decisions taken for achieving this objective. Since the required resources have to be raised without imposing a heavy burden on the common man and it has been abundantly proved by the experience of recent years that financial resources for worthwhile purposes can be easily raised, the climate for stimulating savings and canalising them along desired directions will have to be created. The Union Finance Minister has a special responsibility in this context.

The formulation of budget estimates for 1985-86 will have to be Plan-oriented even while providing for a larger devolution of revenues to the States by giving effect to the recommendations of the Eighth Finance Commission. As the burden of taxation is heavy in many directions the required revenues could be secured only through rationalisation of the structure of taxes, plugging loopholes and better collections. The internal resources of public sector undertakings also have to be augmented. The Government is clearly inclined to raise administered and controlled prices for improving profitability of public sector undertakings even if they happened to be higher than landed cost of cor-

responding imports. A beginning has been made with upward adjustments in prices for various steel products ranging between four and 20 per cent.

The lead given in the first year of the Seventh Plan should be such as to facilitate the mobilisation of financial resources in various forms. In fact, if it is assumed there will be a rise of at least 25 per cent in prices in 1985-90, the aggregate Plan outlay in the public sector in the next five years can be over Rs. 200,000 crores. Unlike in the Sixth Plan, the paucity of financial resources is likely to be felt rather keenly.

The shortfalls in investment in some directions can, of course, be offset with a better contribution by the private sector which has witnessed unprecedented activity in recent years. Also, it has been borne out by developments in the past five years that the private industrial sector can be expected to take up additional responsibilities and reduce the load on the public sector, given proper incentives. The latter too can take advantage of the huge investments already incurred over the years. There should, therefore, be active coordination of the roles of different agencies apart from removing various constraints for giving a new thrust to economic development.

CSO: 4600/1537

IRAN

PUBLIC WARNED TO OBSERVE ISLAMIC LAWS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 22 Apr 85 p 17

[Text] Last night, the prosecutor general issued a communique warning the agents of corruption, prostitution and prohibited acts. Emphasizing his repeated warning to the violators that if they have any dignity, they must fully observe the laws of the country, he pointed out: If they are punished, this group must know that, in fact, they are themselves responsible for the consequences of their actions against the laws and they do not have the right to place the burden of the sin on the implementors of the law.

The text of the communique is as follows:

In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful. Considering that it has been six years since the establishment and rule of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the laws ratified by the Majlis that must be obeyed by all residents of Iran have been announced and published in all areas through different means, accompanied with a great deal of guidance and advice. Hence, in this respect, there is no excuse left for anyone to ignore the law. The laws of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which are the fruit of the blood of thousands of martyrs and disabled people, must be implemented decisively, particularly in regards to cutting the roots of the agents of corruption, prostitution and prohibited acts. The nation which has given martyrs and the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran will no longer tolerate the heinous and filthy actions of such individuals and can no longer witness the actions of these ungodly persons. At a time when our young people roll in their blood like torn flowers on the battlefronts in defending the sacred sanctuary of Islam and establishing the Islamic laws and values, and when the disabled are suffering in pain in hospitals while our nation, under the fire of bombs and missiles of the Ba'thist enemies, is dragged through soil and blood, this corrupt group and the remaining waste of the tyrant's regime, who still have the chains of slavery and servitude to foreigners around their necks, negligent of everything, live a life of debauchery and dancing, spreading

prostitution and addiction and holding nightly parties in the houses of corruption. Or a group of clowns with improper clothes violate public chastity, or like prostitutes with shameful makeup, appear in Islamic assemblies, ridiculing the sacred rules of an Islamic country and trampling the blood of our young people.

As an ultimatum, the office of the prosecutor general once again warns the violators and law breakers that if they have any dignity, they must fully observe the laws of the country. Otherwise, should they be punished, they must know that it is, in fact, they who are responsible for the consequences of the actions which are contrary to the law and they have no right to blame the implementors of the law for their sinful actions.

Now, as an additional warning, a few articles of the Islamic penal law concerning offenses against public morality are mentioned here as examples.

Article 102. Anyone who openly, in public places or streets, engages in prohibited acts, in addition to receiving punishment for his actions, will be sentenced to 74 lashes. If the person commits an action which itself is not punishable but which violates public morality, he will be sentenced to 74 lashes alone.

Note. Women who appear in public places without religious veiling will be sentenced to a reduced punishment of up to 74 lashes.

Article 103. The following individuals will be sentenced to 1-10 years in jail and 74 lashes.

1. Anyone who establishes or manages a center of corruption or prostitution in which he drags the people to corruption and prostitution.

2. Anyone who coerces people to corruption or prostitution or provides the means for it.

Note. If the above-mentioned action is a cause of the corruption of public morality and is committed with the knowledge of it being so, the punishment shall fit that of a corruptor of the earth.

Article 104. The following shall be sentenced to one month to one year imprisonment.

1. Anyone who produces or keeps writings, sketches, graphics, paintings, pictures, printed matter, announcements, signs, films,

or video tapes or any other object harmful to public chastity for the purpose of trade, distribution or public exhibition.

2. Anyone who imports or exports the above-mentioned material directly or through another person or is in any way in charge of or a mediate in trade or any other type of transaction or renting to make money.

3. Anyone who in any manner publishes or places on public display the above-mentioned objects.

4. Anyone who announces or publicizes in any manner for the purpose of promoting the transaction or spread of the above-mentioned objects, stating that a specific person is an agent for one of the above-mentioned prohibited acts. Also, anyone who announces or publicizes how and through what persons one of the above-mentioned items can be obtained directly or indirectly.

Also, the Prosecutors' Offices throughout the country are responsible on the basis of Articles 12, 13, and 15 of the law for security steps and Articles 103, 104 and 105 of the law for penal prosecution to do their duty in regards to the confiscation of objects, tools and means of crime, closure of establishments, places and stores of objects, and tools of crime, establishments which are the place for the sale of smuggled and illegal goods or establishments which facilitate immoral equipment. In conclusion, as always, it is expected of the Hezbollah nation which is always present on the scene to preserve the Islamic values and cooperate with us. Persons with evil intentions and counterrevolutionaries must know that they have not had and do not have the ability to deceive and influence the martyr-nurturing nation who have always been and are aware of their religious and legal duties.

Prosecutor General Yusof Sane'i

10,000

CSO: 4640/534



IRAN

PAPER COMMENTS ON HEZBOLLAHI ZEALOTS DEMONSTRATIONS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 21 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by Hamid Setayeshgar: "Demonstrations Against Improper Veiling"]

[Text] Once again, the motorcycle-riding groups in the name of the Hezbollah have demanded fighting against unveiling with their demonstrations in various parts of Tehran.

This is not the first time that Tehran has witnessed such scenes. Such groups have appeared previously many times in Tehran and some provincial cities, and each time the national authorities have asked them to leave this task to the officials. But this time, it is not clear why no serious steps have been taken against such actions, which have resulted in violence in certain parts of Tehran.

In this connection, the position of the officials must be clarified. Are those who are "improperly clothed," including men and women, guilty of violation?

If their action is against the law, why does the government not announce its position and arrest such individuals? And if no law prohibits the actions of such individuals as yet, why are such incidents not prevented in the cities?

Essentially, who is responsible for such demonstrations? By whose permission and under the regulations of which ministry are such demonstrations held? Who is responsible for the likely violence of such groups?

Undoubtedly, the regime of the Islamic Republic has left behind the expected period of revolutionary chaos and for a long time now, the regime has been orderly and stable. In the course of the movement of the regime, any action against the social order and security can result in anarchy and anarchy is ultimately the negation of the central government.

Along with disturbing the social order, this course of action will have a strong effect on social relations. With such a course of action, everyone may allow himself to use force personally to remove whatever bothers him and may even have social roots.

Such actions, now that once again the imam of the nation has called the war the main issue, are precisely actions against the main slogans of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Dragging the forces inward and creating psychological and mental problems in the cities and escalating unrest and disturbances are all actions which compromise the war effort. It is enough for such a lever to fall into the hands of the minigroups to be able to stop all the essential issues of the Islamic revolution by creating problems of this kind.

On the other hand, this is not the way to answer the call to Islam. Nowhere in Islamic history has anyone been violently forced to accept the Islamic call. Of course, an issue might become obligatory by the government, on the basis of its authority, but this is only if the government finds such actions in its interest.

We have seen that, for instance, in Albania, following the revolution, chewing gum or wearing tight trousers was forbidden. In revolutionary China, women and men wore uniforms, and so on. But in all these cases, the government took direct steps and imposed its rule rather than to allow a group to compromise social security and the rule of the government by engaging in such actions.

10,000

CSO: 4640/533

IRAN

# VELAYATI'S CONTACTS WITH NONALIGNED MINISTERS ELABORATED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 21 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] New Delhi, IRNA. Yesterday (Saturday), after making a speech in the meeting of nonaligned foreign ministers concerning Namibia, Mr Velayati, the minister of foreign affairs of our country, met and spoke with the foreign minister of Sierra Leone.

In this meeting, explaining the position of his country, the foreign minister of Sierra Leone informed Mr Velayati of his willingness to visit the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Also, the head of the Sri Lankan delegation to the Delhi meeting met with Mr Velayati yesterday. Delivering a message from the foreign minister of that country, he explained the internal situation and problems of Sri Lanka. Also in this meeting, relations between Iran and Sri Lanka were discussed.

## Meeting with the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia

According to a report by IRNA from New Delhi, yesterday morning the Ethiopian foreign minister also met with our minister of foreign affairs. In this meeting, the imposed war of the Iraq regime against Iran was discussed, in which the foreign minister of Ethiopia announced his support for the Islamic Republic of Iran and added: We are sorry about the uses of chemical weapons in the war, because in the years 1935-1941, that is, during Mussolini's domination, chemical weapons were also used against our nation; hence, we are aware of the dimensions of this crime. We express our full moral and political support for you in all international and political circles and will continue to do so.

He then referred to the long cultural and historical relations between the two countries and said: We are prepared to advance and strengthen our relations more than ever before. He also thanked the Islamic Republic for its aid to the famine victims of that country.

The Ethiopian foreign minister invited Mr Velayati for a visit to that country. In response, referring to the expanding relations between the two countries, our foreign minister spoke about the imposed war and said: Iraq is a fascist regime which does not even recoil from the use of chemical weapons, which is in violation of all international laws. The invasion of that regime on our country could not be repelled except with the bravery of the Iranian nation. Mr Velayati thanked the Ethiopian government for its position in regards to the imposed war and said: It is the duty of all countries to condemn the Iraqi regime for violating humane and international regulations and to oppose this open aggression.

#### Meeting with the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia

New Delhi. The Yugoslavian foreign minister met and spoke with Dr Velayati, the minister of foreign affairs of our country, yesterday (Saturday). In this meeting, which was held at the meeting of the nonaligned countries concerning Namibia in New Delhi, the important issues of the nonaligned movement and ways to strengthen this movement were discussed.

In this meeting, Dr Velayati described the preservation of the primary principles of the movement and the loyalty of the members to these principles as the most important safeguards for strengthening the non-aligned movement.

The Yugoslavian foreign minister also supported the statements of Mr Velayati and said: The nonaligned movement must be strengthened more than ever before and must preserve its principle positions.

Referring to the imposed war of Iraq against Iran and the violation of international rules and regulations, such as attacks on residential areas and the use of chemical weapons by the Iraqi regime, the foreign minister of our country said: Unfortunately, these inhumane actions of the Iraqi regime have not faced the overall opposition of the international organizations and assemblies and the non-aligned movement has not stood strongly against such actions by the regime of Iraq.

The Yugoslavian foreign minister said: In our opinion, the use of chemical weapons is condemned everywhere. According to this report, in this meeting, the mutual relations and their strengthening and expansion were discussed.

#### Meeting with the Foreign Ministers of Angola and Tanzania

New Delhi, IRNA. In the continuation of this meeting of the nonaligned foreign ministers concerning the issue of Namibia,

yesterday afternoon (Saturday), Mr Velayati met and spoke with the foreign minister of Angola.

In this meeting, the foreign minister of Angola said: We greatly respect your country, have followed up your revolution carefully, and wish you success.

In response, Mr Velayati said: Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution, we have engaged in expanding relations with African countries and have established 10 new agencies on that continent. This is due to the principles of our foreign policy, which is to lean towards Third World countries.

Mr Velayati also expressed hope that despite the problems that it faces, Angola will succeed in holding the next meeting of the nonaligned countries in Luanda.

According to this report, Dr Velayati, the foreign minister of our country, also met and spoke with Mr Mkapa, the foreign minister of Tanzania.

In this meeting, examining the current meeting of the nonaligned countries concerning Namibia, both sides emphasized their support for the just struggle of the Namibian nation. Also, the increasing expansion of relations between the two Muslim countries was discussed. Referring to the aid of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the famine-stricken countries in Eastern Africa, including Tanzania, Dr Velayati said: Despite the hardship that the great powers have imposed on us, the Islamic Republic of Iran is prepared to help its friends.

#### Meeting with the Foreign Minister of Nigeria

Also, yesterday afternoon, Dr Velayati, the minister of foreign affairs, met and spoke with the Nigerian foreign minister.

According to the IRNA reporter, in this meeting, emphasizing the expansion of relations of the two Muslim countries of Iran and Nigeria, Dr Velayati said: The ties of African countries with each other must be strengthened more than ever before and then cooperation between Arab and African countries must be expanded.

The Nigerian foreign minister also said: Most of the people of our country are Muslims. We are one of the active members of the conference on African unity and recently we recognized Sahara. He added: We hope that the Arab-African conference will be held as soon as possible to strengthen ties between the Arab and African countries.

In this meeting, the mutual relations and cooperation between the two countries as well as coordination in international assemblies

were emphasized. Also, yesterday afternoon, the deputy foreign minister of Malaysia, who heads the Malaysian delegation at the special meeting of the nonaligned foreign ministers concerning Namibia, met and spoke with Dr Velayati. The deputy foreign minister of Malaysia expressed the greetings of the foreign minister of his country and the willingness of Malaysia to expand relations with Iran.

#### Meeting with the Foreign Minister of Cuba

Mr Malmierca, the Cuban foreign minister, met and spoke yesterday afternoon (Saturday) with Dr Velayati, the foreign minister of our country, who is in New Delhi to take part in the special meeting of the nonaligned countries concerning Namibia.

According to a report by IRNA, in this meeting, the Cuban foreign minister referred to the recent visit of the prime minister of our country to Cuba and said: Although the visit of Mr Musavi to Cuba was short, the areas for increased cooperation between the two countries were discussed. Then he emphasized the necessity for cooperation and coordination between the Third World countries to find solutions for the economic problems of the world and said: Cuba has begun extensive efforts in this area.

The Cuban foreign minister expressed hopes to visit Iran as soon as possible.

According to this report, in this meeting, mutual relations and the issues of the nonaligned movement were discussed and Mr Velayati emphasized the necessity for the unity and strengthening of the nonaligned movement.

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CSO: 4640/532

IRAN

# MAJLIS APPROVES INCREASE IN EXIT FEE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 17 Mar 85 p 18

[Text] KEYHAN political service--The Islamic Majlis held a public session yesterday afternoon. In this session suggestions about the articles of the budget bill were discussed and a few articles were ratified.

In this session, suggestions in regard to article 56 were discussed. None of these suggestions was approved. Then article 57 was discussed as follows:

Article 57 - Based on the compulsory military service regulation, the Islamic Republic of Iran's gendarmerie is authorized from 21 March 1985 to 21 March 1986 to collect 10,000 rials for issuing permanent exemption certificates for compulsory military service and 20,000 rials for issuing duplicates and deposit the funds in the treasury's general account. Some of the deputies suggested omitting article 57. Hoseyn Harati and Hamidi talked in favor of and against this suggestion. Ha'erizadeh, the spokesman of the plan and budget committee and the government representative gave their opinions.

Then the omission of article 57 was voted on and ratified.

Article 58 was then discussed and read as follows:

Article 58 - Beginning in 1364 (21 March 1985) the aviation organization is required to collect information on aviation statistics and flight services based on regulations to be approved by the council of ministers according to the approved tariffs and collect the related expenses and deposit them in the treasury general account. The urban development and housing committee's proposed amendment adjustment was voted on and rejected.

Article 59 was then read and discussed:

Article 59A. The plan and budget organization is authorized to estimate and collect expenses for training and automation (computer) services, designing and establishing systems (whether manual or automated) and printing of specialized publications and deposit them in the treasury's general account.

B. Each year there will be a credit equal to 50 percent of the total anticipated income based on article A of the budget law entitled 'Expenditures for educational automation, information and publication services' whose purpose and use is exclusively subject to the regulations presented by the ministry of plan and budget to be approved by the cabinet.

A few semantic changes were made to article 59 such as the phrase 'anticipated income' which was changed to 'obtained income' in paragraph B. Also in paragraph B the phrase 'inside the country' was inserted after the word 'aid' and the phrase 'considering the regulation of this law' was added to the end of this paragraph.

Article 60 was then discussed and read as follows:

Article 60 - The Islamic Republic of Iran's gendarmerie is authorized from the beginning of the year (21 March 1985) to collect 2000 rials from all public transportation driver applicants for the issuance and replacement of logbooks recording driver performance and speed inspections by the highway patrol with the collected money considered as public government income and deposited in the treasury's general account.

Two deputies suggested the elimination of article 60. Latif Safari and Kamel Kheyr-Khah talked in favor of and against this suggestion while the committee spokesman and the government representative did not have any comments about the proposed article. Then the suggestion for the omission of article 60 was voted on and not approved.

This article was then reintroduced differently for voting and was not approved.

Abdolalizadeh suggested that a part of this income be allocated for the improvement of gendarmerie posts. This suggestion was voted on and not approved.

Then article 61 was discussed and read as follows:

Permission is given to the ministry of health to charge a fee for testing drugs, food, beverages, health and cosmetic products according to tariffs to be approved by the council of ministers. The fees will be deposited in the treasury's general account. The treasury must pay a sum equal to the deposited income to the ministry of health's regional health organizations in the provinces for the establishment, completion, expansion and other activities of the drug control laboratories.

Article 62 - Article 62 of the budget law of 1984 is amended as follows:

The fishery company of Iran is bound from 21 March 1985 to pay 20 percent of the sale price of all types of caviar as tax to the nation's treasury.

Latif Safari suggested that 10 percent of the fishery income be given to the reconstruction crusade organization. After an explanation by the committee



spokesman and government representative, this suggestion was voted on and not approved.

#### Collection of Exit Fee

Article 63 was then discussed and read as follows: Article 63 - From the date of approval of this law until 20 March 1986, 100,000 rials will be collected from anyone exiting the country travelling abroad with an Islamic Republic of Iran passport except on government missions.

A group of deputies suggested the omission of article 63.

One of the, Mahmudi, stated that it was necessary to omit this article.

Ezatolla Dehqan, in opposing this suggestion said: "I am against the omission of this article and in my opinion this article must be amended."

Seyyed Reza Zavareh'i said this in favor of the article: "The government could save on current expenses and in addition must not put pressure on the lower classes. The government's duty is to regulate the wreath of the nation. For example, if a physician wants to travel abroad, this additional expense will have an effect on his fees."

The committee spokesman and the government representative gave their opinions on this matter.

The suggestion for the omission of the article was voted on and not approved.

A ceiling of 50,000 rials was then proposed and also rejected.

The suggestion of Dari Najafabadi was then discussed, voted on and ratified as follows:

From the ratification date of this law the sum in article 3 of the amendment to the law of providing development and public funds will be increased by 100,000 rials.

The public session of the Majlis adjourned at 6:00 and the next session is Sunday morning at 8:00.

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CSO: 4640/502

IRAN

INTERIOR MINISTER: NATION'S DESTINY RIDES ON OUTCOME OF WAR

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 15 Mar 85 p 20

[Text] Tehran - IRNA - In a gathering of the personnel of the Tehran traffic department Thursday morning, the minister of interior said: "The destiny of our nation depends on this imposed war and naturally all existing possibilities must be used in this matter."

The mayor of Tehran was also present at this gathering. First, Colonel Meshkuti, the director of the Tehran traffic department talked about the uncontrolled growth of the city of Tehran and the 80 percent increase in vehicles during the past 7 years and presented a report on the department's operations during the present year. Then Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri, the minister of interior in saluting the birthday anniversary of eminent Fatemeh Zahra (may God send greetings to her) and the importance of this day to the birthday of the great leader of the Islamic revolution, gave his appreciation for the decisiveness and perseverance of the officers, non-commissioned officers and policemen for the precise implementation of traffic projects and expressed hope that the heavy workload and irrational confrontations of a group of offenders would not disturb the execution of their responsibilities and the duties entrusted to them.

The minister of interior added: "The affairs of all the organization, organs, and ministries inside of the country are connected to each other. If they fulfill their duties harmoniously with each other they will be able to strengthen the order of the society and if one of the organizations is not able to perform its role, it will cause a serious problem in society."

He added: "Whoever has a responsibility entrusted to him must fulfill that responsibility for the sake of God in the very best manner and must realize that to run a university, a school, etc. is its entrenchment as the war fronts are the place of service and entrenchment for the combatants. In the eyes of God, the value of this work has the very same reward as fighting the enemy."

In conclusion, the minister of interior referred to the traffic department's shortages of personnel and some equipment. He requested that officials and especially accident experts try to get to the scenes of accidents as soon as possible.

IRAN

# MINISTRY ANNOUNCES HOUSING GUARANTEE POLICIES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 23 Apr 85 p 17

/Text/ Yesterday morning some standard working rules from the new programs of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development regarding the fundamental policies for the provision of housing facilities for people were described to the mass media by engineer Kazeruni, minister of housing and urban development.

According to KEYHAN's economic correspondent, engineer Kazeruni stated: "In our new programming, of which details will be announced through the mass media in early May of the current year, we intend to make the general public's position clear as far as the housing issue is concerned. Namely, a certain set of rules or policies have to be adopted and put into effect whereby a housing applicant anywhere throughout the country would know what path he should take or how long it will take for him to own a house or a piece of land.

"To this end, and in order to prevent this program from becoming a victim of personal taste and dislikes, we have tried to get the approval of the relevant authorities for this program."

Furthermore, engineer Kazeruni added: "For instance, in this program we have proposed that an applicant for a house loan should first deposit a certain sum of money as reserve with the Housing Bank so that on the basis of this deposit he can get a loan and become a home owner.

"In smaller cities the reserve sum deposited by an applicant is low while in larger cities this amount increases accordingly. For example, in this program it has been predicted that the waiting period to apply for a loan in smaller cities will be six months, in the provincial capitals it will be 12 months while in Tehran it will be 18 months before one can apply for a loan.

"Likewise, the amount of the loans paid to the applicants in smaller cities in comparison to the amount of deposit reserve will be larger. For example, someone who deposits some money for a period of six months with the Housing Bank can get a loan twice that amount. And if this initial period is extended to 12 months he can get as much as four times the initial amount of deposit reserve.

"Similarly, in the provincial capitals, after a waiting period of 12 months, an applicant can get a loan one-and-half times the initial deposit while in Tehran the same deposit for a period of 18 months will bring in an amount equivalent to the size of the initial deposit reserve."

The minister of housing went on to say: "Also in this program the applicants will have various privileges based on certain priorities. For instance, being married, having children, having have to support some people, being a government employee, being a member of the cooperatives and so forth; each has a particular privilege attached to it and those who have one of these privileges will be given certain priorities."

As regards the study of the fundamental housing problems in society, engineer Kazeruni stated: "With regard to housing problems certain factors play a role in demand and some in manufacture."

"After the revolution, as a result of the growth of people's insight and perspicacity, the factors pertaining to demand have had an upward swing. The war emigrants are also some of the applicants for housing, and all of whom demand a suitable dwelling place, particularly those who have began a new life in the cities. In addition, as a result of the inherited inadequacies from the satanic regime, the volume in demand has increased. Another factor is the shift in people's viewpoint which has caused an increase in demands. For instance, in the past a large family was content to live in a single house, whereas the shift in the pattern of living has brought about the demand for each separate family member with his wife and children to have a house of his own."

"At all events, the effective factors in the construction of a house are the land, the means and mechanism of construction, financial problems and government's financial assistance, human labor and building materials."

"As regards the provision of land, with regard to the appropriate city land laws, we have been successful in smaller cities while in larger ones we are facing some problems. As far as the means and mechanism of housing construction is concerned we believe that the private sector should be given the chance to participate in the production process. Regarding the financial issues and government assistance, we also need to have certain shifts in planning. We believe that financial assistance should be extended to the deprived sectors."

"Unfortunately, concerning the provision of human labor, because of the erroneous past policies some of the experts in the field of housing construction had to resort to other avenues of income in order to earn a living and thus our society is faced with the shortage of effective human labor in the field of housing construction."

"With regard to building materials, principally we have a relative increase. However, in the long run our domestic building materials are not sufficient to meet the needs of our society; therefore, we are planning to expand our factories which produce building materials." As regards the intervention of some responsible officials in the matter of housing and its negative result in our society, the housing minister said: "Since the housing issue concerns all the people, it prompts the general public to come up with some fundamental solutions of this problem--which in itself is a blessing--and many of the solutions which have been proposed by the people serve as a pattern for us. Nevertheless, our basic difficulty is that certain officials, who are not at all involved in the housing problems, pass judgments on the issue of housing and thus their judgments create some friction which eventually harms our progress.

"In this regard, we have asked the Cabinet to make sure that all the related information and statistics as far as the housing issue is concerned be channeled through the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development."

Thereafter, the minister of housing asked all the responsible authorities to leave the matter of housing to the Ministry of Housing so that we can get to a sound form of programming.

Further, engineer Kazeruni added: "Some people think that it is only the Ministry of Housing which is solely responsible for the provision of housing facilities; whereas in this regard, the Ministry of Science is responsible for the human labor, banks are responsible for financial assistance, and as regards building materials the Ministry of Heavy Industries carries certain responsibilities. Notwithstanding all this, the Constitution holds the government responsible for the provision of housing for the people.

"Of course our main duty is to guide those organs in the right direction and for this purpose we have arranged meetings with them so that we can create the necessary coordination and harmonize our activities."

Then regarding the activities which have so far been carried out in relation to the provision of housing accommodation in Tehran, the minister of housing stated: "The most important thing which has been carried out in this regard is the shift in the density of housing in Tehran. At the present time, in the southern part of Tehran we have a density of 700 to 800 persons per hectare while in the northern section of the city the density is 120 to 130 persons per hectare. With due consideration of the regulations which have been sanctioned by the Higher Council of Housing, we have raised these densities. For instance, we have permitted many of the proprietors of two-story homes to build a third story on top of the present house if they so desire.

"To illustrate, this proposition will make it possible for the children of

the families who are planning to get married to build one more story on top of their parents' house and thus eliminate their own housing problem.

"God willing, this decision will be generalized in the year 1986-87 and the people will be able to build on top of their present residential homes."

Furthermore, the minister of housing stated: "It is planned that for the provision of public facilities we will provide free land. Thus, from now on free land will be made available to responsible individuals who plan to build schools, hospitals, public parks, etc... and for the provision of land for such projects we plan to make use of waste or uncultivated lands which will have favorable results."

Then regarding the provision of housing for army personnel, the minister of housing stated: "Right now in 220 cities we make land available to army personnel without their having to wait for their turn. In addition, we have recently announced that in 34 more cities we will be providing army families with land without their having to wait for their turn."

As regards the existing problems in the way of the performance of the duties of the Ministry of Housing the minister of housing stated: "The problem for the provision of housing for war emigrants was one of our problems which will be duly taken care of according to the approved regulations by the Cabinet and we will provide them with land. We have been also successful in this regard. In other words, as long as the war goes on we have to provide the war emigrants with land.

"Another problem was the designation of land in the past by the religious magistrates which had taken place with some misappropriations. However, recently we have been provided with a new regulation by the Supreme Judicial Council which will be used as our premise to gradually provide land to those individuals who are genuinely deserving.

"Another problem was the issue of designation of the lands which belonged to the Housing Foundation and we are presently busy in designating such land to about 180,000 applicants. And finally, our last problem was the designation of lands by the Housing Foundation which after we held a meeting with Ayatollah Sane'i, it was arranged to do something about this issue."

12719

CSO: 4640/542

IRAN

# KHOMEYNI CALLS FOR UNIVERSITY REFORM

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 17 Apr 85 p 18

[Text] In a visit with the minister and deputies of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education yesterday, the imam of the nation expressed his gratitude for the efforts of the university officials and his hopes for increased reform in the universities. He said: You must do something to ensure that our universities acquire the ways of the masses of the people. If a nation wants something, the opposite cannot be imposed on it. I hope that with the efforts of you gentlemen and the supreme council of the cultural revolution, we acquire universities which reflect the people and not foreigners.

Dr Iraj Fazel, the minister of culture and higher education, accompanied by the deputy ministers of this ministry, was given an audience with the leader of the revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and met with the imam of the nation yesterday morning.

In this meeting, first the minister of culture and higher education presented a detailed report on the work and activities of this ministry to the leader of the revolution. Then the imam of the nation said in a speech:

In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful.

I thank you gentlemen who have taken positive steps. I hope that you have sensed that all the ailments in Iran began in the universities. There has been bitterness in the universities which cannot be eliminated soon. Hard work and self-sacrifice are necessary for the universities to become universities. A university which did not have the right to speak about the interests of Iran and Islam, a university in which performing prayers was considered a shameful act, a university which was the

source of all our problems--you must try to reform the universities and feel that Islam is capable of reforming the universities. Reforming the universities is easy when we watch our children from elementary school. If our children are trained well, the work of the universities will be easier.

I hope that with the help of professors and teachers, the situation improves such that a person who finishes his education will be trained to be a committed person, a person who knows he must serve his country and would not concern himself with satisfying foreign countries. You know that most people who have been in the universities, although some of them perform their prayers, believe that Iran must be under the supervision of foreign countries. They say that Iran cannot manage itself. Is Iran, which has protected itself, exported its revolution to other countries and awakened other nations, incapable of managing itself? Why?

You must do something to ensure that our universities acquire the ways of the masses of the people. If a nation wants something, the opposite cannot be imposed on it. See how our masses of millions have changed and paid attention to this concept that they must stand up against power. The university must be a center for the growth of such ideas. Unfortunately, such has not been the case. I hope that with the work of you gentlemen and the supreme council of the cultural revolution, we acquire a university which reflects the people and not foreigners. We must train our young people such that the Muslims in other countries realize that training here is beneficial. You must know that if the university works correctly, presents itself to the world and the people of the world realize that the Iranian universities work for Iran and not for foreigners, certainly the Muslims in other countries will come here. Knowledge alone is useless. Knowledge combined with commitment can bring a human being to a point of not needing others and he will be proud before God. Of course, this task is not without its problems and unpleasantness. Carrying out a positive task does not please everyone. A just action might taste bitter to some. But the person who pursues truth and works for God must not be concerned about what he has been told or what is being said. God must come before him and he must work for God, no matter what anyone says. Even good work has opponents. You must be concerned with doing your work well, and be proud before God. When you keep this in mind, God will help you solve your problems. If the university is reformed, the country will be reformed. I pray that God will support you and bring you success.

10,000

CSO: 4640/530



IRAN

KHOMEYNI: WE MUST DEFEND ISLAM ON ALL FRONTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 15 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] In a meeting yesterday morning with the director and members of the council and several officials of the mobilization of the oppressed, praising the services of this unit during its period of activity, Imam Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, said: Since our goal is Islam, every young person must be a force to defend Islam. All the people and everyone in every profession must be prepared to prevent heathenism, atheism and foreign invasion. The imam of the nation also said: I hope that Iran will become a country in which everyone, while engaged in his own work, is prepared for defense on any day it might be announced. Such a country will not be harmed.

In this meeting, first Hojjat ol-Eslam Rahmani, the director of the mobilization of the oppressed, presented to the commander-in-chief of the armed forces a detailed report on the work and activities of the mobilization and the readiness of this great people's force to be present on the fronts. Then the imam of the people spoke as follows:

In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful.

My duty is to pray for you and thank you, especially you who have accepted this task. The issue of mobilization has existed since the dawn of Islam. When there was a war, various tribes gathered and went to war. This is nothing new; it has a history in Islam. Since our goal is Islam, every young person must be a force to defend Islam. All the people and everyone in every profession must be prepared to prevent heathenism, atheism and foreign invasion. During this period, I have heard good things about the mobilization. Your activities have been very good and I hope they improve. Of course, there are problems in every task that

must be eliminated. What is very important to us and is something our young people throughout the country have sensed, that is that they must prevent any danger which occurs themselves and not wait for foreigners and others to serve them. The advantage of Iran over other places is that thus far it has stretched its hands to others neither for materials nor for other things. It has stood on its own feet and has defended itself through reliance on God, which is the way it should be, because a person who comes from abroad does not come to fight. As we have seen, for Saddam, people have come from Jordan and other places, but they are more incompetent than those who are in Iraq and are not ready to give their lives for Saddam. But in our country, when the issue is Islam and self-sacrifice for Islam, everyone is prepared, because our people know that at the dawn of Islam, the Prophet and the imam displayed such self-sacrifice. Muslims at the dawn of Islam, despite their small number worked hard and fought hard. In our country, thank God, most people generally have this desire to serve Islam and their country. You gentlemen, especially the clerics, must guide the young people and make them aware that when we work for Islam we must be pure. If, God forbid, our work is accompanied with selfishness and pride, it would be the source of defeat.

Reliance must be on God and serving God. Service, no matter where it is done, is worshipping. Those who work for God in the mobilization and other places are all performing acts of worship and the mobilization is a very important and good thing.

I hope that with your hard work, and that of those who are in these centers, progress is made and Iran becomes a country in which, while everyone is engaged in his work, when it is announced, everyone will be ready for defense. Such a country will not be harmed.

God willing, may God grant you success and support. I pray for you.

10,000

CSO: 4640/530

IRAN

# ADMISSION TEST FOR TEACHER TRAINING CENTERS ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 15 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] The distribution of entry cards for the testing session for teacher training centers began today (15 April) from 7 am throughout the country.

Hasan Sabur, the director general for testing of the Ministry of Education, told KEYHAN concerning the entry cards to the testing session for teacher training centers: The distribution of entry cards to the testing session for teacher training centers began today, 15 April, throughout the country and will continue through tomorrow. Applicants must come in person to receive their entry cards for the testing areas announced, bringing along their birth certificates or any valid picture identification, the registered mail receipt verifying their registration documents, and a certificate from the office of education of the region concerning registration in the fourth year of high school and trade schools, for independent applicants. He then added: The combative applicants who are not able to receive their cards on the days mentioned can also come to receive their cards on Wednesday, 17 April, the day which has been set aside to take care of any possible problems in the distribution of entry cards.

Then, concerning the number of participants and the date of this examination, he said: Throughout the country, 215,076 persons have participated in this examination, and the date of this examination is Thursday, 18 April.

Concerning the hours for card distribution for the testing session, Sabur said: The hours for card distribution are 7 am to 12 pm and 2 pm to 5 pm.

The director general of examinations then added: The time set for this examination is 8 am on the days mentioned, and the doors to the main testing areas will be open from 6 am and close at 7:30. Hence, applicants must be at the locations an hour ahead of time.

Concerning the necessary documents in the testing session, Sabur said: Applicants must bring to the session their entry cards, lead pencils, pencil sharpeners, erasers, blue or black ballpoint pens, several straight pins, completed central selection board forms and two photographs, on the backs of which the personal information of the applicant with the number of the applicant's card is clearly written. If an applicant has mistakenly sent his central selection committee questionnaire along with his other registration documents by mail, he must obtain and complete the form from the officials in the card distribution centers. Failure to hand in this form at the testing session will be considered his wish not to participate in the next stages of the examination. The combative applicants who have form No 1 are urged to include their selection questionnaire and hand it in at the testing session. Also, applicants are urged not to bring along unnecessary materials.

Concerning the number of testing notebooks and the time for answering questions, Sabur said: Every applicant will be given one notebook for general subjects and one notebook for the first specialization test. Applicants who have two choices will be given a specialization test notebook. For religious minorities, a special notebook is prepared which is identified with the phrase, for religious minorities.

The testing notebook for general subjects has 100 questions, the time for which is 60 minutes. For each one of the testing specialization notebooks, there are 50 questions and 50 minutes time.

He then added: The questions are multiple choice and wrong answers will be given negative points in the final grade. For every wrong answer, one grade will be deducted from the applicant's final grade. Applicants must note that they should choose and mark only one answer for each question. If more than one answer is marked, even if one of those answers is correct, it will be considered a wrong one.

An official in the education department said: In 14 fields, about 24,000 applicants will be admitted and efforts will be made to announce the results of this examination by 6 September.

10,000  
CSO: 4640/530

IRAN

## MUJAHIDIN STEP-UP ACTIVITY IN NORTH

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 24 Apr 85 pp 1-2

[Text] NEW DELHI, India (Dispatches) — Afghan Mujahideen attacked military convoys and posts in northern Afghanistan last week, triggering heavy fighting which caused substantial casualties, Western diplomats said Tuesday.

The fighting took place in the strategic Shomali region, northwest of the Afghan capital of Kabul, said the diplomats quoting reports from inside the west Asian nation.

The diplomats, who asked not to be identified by name or nationality, said the

renewed fighting came after Soviet and Afghan troops swept through Pagmac, a city in the region, killing at least 70 civilians.

Twenty rockets were fired into an air base and the Mujahideen shot down a plane, killing nine soldiers, said the diplomatic reports which could not be independently verified.

The Mujahideen also attacked a military post near Barandai, triggering a battle in which 30 soldiers were reportedly killed.

Clashes also were reported near Charikar, where the freedom fighters ambushed several military convoys but

no immediate casualty figures were available.

A convoy carrying food for Soviet and Afghan troops also came under attack in which 10 soldiers were killed and two trucks were destroyed, said the diplomats.

The strategic Salang Highway was briefly closed after the Mujahideen shot down two helicopters and ambushed a convoy, slaying five Afghan soldiers, the diplomats reported.

### Plane Carrying Delegates Downed

In related news, the Afghan Mujahideen reportedly shot down a plane carrying delegates to a national tribal convention in Kabul, killing nine people, as secret police stepped up security for the meeting, diplomats said Tuesday.

The officially-sponsored "Loyah Jirgah," or national convention — only the tenth this century — is scheduled to begin Tuesday, and "may be laying the groundwork for a stepped up push against resistance forces," a Western diplomat said.

On 16 April the Mujahideen reportedly downed a plane bringing representatives to the Loyah Jirgah in

Kabul from Badakhshan Province (northeast Afghanistan)", said one or two diplomats in separate briefings.

Nine passengers were reported killed, the diplomat said.

The Afghan secret police were reported moving provincial staff into Kabul to tighten security for the convention and subsequent anniversary celebrations of the April 27, 1978 Marxist coup.

"There has been a massive outpouring of regime propaganda on the Jirgah, but few observers regard it as anything more than a charade," said one diplomat.

She noted the convention was officially announced on April 12, and elections for the 1,350 seats began the next day.

"This haste has led some to speculate that the Jirgah may be laying the public relations groundwork for an escalation in the war and a major Soviet push against resistance forces," the diplomat said.

Previous national tribal conventions have been called to discuss urgent issues of national interest, but diplomats say the government is using this traditional institution to seek legitimacy.

IRAN

BRIEFS

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN HOUSING--The Ministry of Housing and Urban Development announced that following the emphatic orders of the imam of the nation regarding the extensive participation of the people in economic activities and for the purpose of execution of the announced programs of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development as regards housing construction through public participation; hereby, the real professional builders of residential units who have sufficient experience and are financially able to build a maximum of 10 residential units are invited to deliver their record of practical service or their professional degrees versus the receipt of a receipt to any of the main offices of the Housing and Urban Development in the provincial cities. Explicitly, after due investigation of the above-mentioned documents by the relevant main departments of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development the interested participants will be notified of the selection results. /Text/ /Tehran BURS in Persian 26 Mar 85 p 1/ 12719

CSO: 4640/542

NEPAL

# COMMENTARY DISCUSSES OPPOSITION GROUP'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

Katmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 25 Apr 85 pp 3, 4

[Article by Shrish S. Rana]

[Text]

There's something afoot in Nepalese politics. As is often the case portending activities keeping in style, tend to be masken behind a thin veneer of words and actions the totality of which alone can reveal brief glimpses into the possible.

There is the Congress (banned) Satyagraha threat. The left have been showing its presence, however diminished after this year's student elections, in campus strikes portending solidarity with the teachers' movement. Surya Bahadur Thapa's grouping in the Rastriya Panchayat have come forth with a serious statement against the Lokendra Bahadur Chand government. Prime Minister Chand himself is poised

for a major cabinet reshuffle. And the Rastriya Panchayat session is due in little over a month.

The very fact that session this year is the last prior to the coming general elections and that the Thapa clique must regain a foothold in government if it is to have some say in the coming general election should be enough to anticipate a no-holds-barred political climate. Add to this Thapa's advocacy of 'liberalism' in including multi-partyites into the system, that much support will be given this time for this section to the Thapa move for power overtly or otherwise appears fairly clear.

Two issues most likely to be taken up this time in the attempt to oust Chand from

government appear to be the market prices and the teachers' strike. The monsoon this year has not favoured the Chand ministry and a series of illtimed price hikes in the public sector has hit the consumer hard. Conceivably, rallying against a government that claimed the reigns of government on these very grounds could put Chand on the defensive, especially when the bulk agrarian populace has been hard-hit. To give vent to this disgruntlement, the opposition are very likely to find cadre backing among the ever-ready student cadre who have put studies to stop several days in solidarity with the demands of teachers to be allowed their union. Quite obviously thus, in its usual from, it is possible to

expect students on the street and a disrupted academic scene in this pre-election round of opposition politics. Of course, Thapa may most likely top it with the now expected stunt of a political rally in Tundikhel and a no-confidence motion in the house.

The above scenario was well nigh predictable long before now and its mention here may appear merely repetitious. But add to this the Raj Sabha conclusion of the need for a change in the basic policies of the Panchayat and put it together with His Majesty the King's message on the occasion of the New Year 2042, the political cauldron becomes hotter still.

For one thing, His Majesty has put paid to whatever contention in the so-called liberal Thapa grouping of a systemic toleration of organisations of their type in the partyless Panchayat system. His Majesty's stress that political organisations and groupings are incompatible to partylessness will have hit hard on Thapa's attempt to foster separate organisational entities within the Panchayat and promote Congressite Girija

Koirala's entry into the system on these grounds. What this will do to his style of politics, this crucial round remains to be seen. This same applies to the Congress non-violent movement and the "reconciliation" ideology of B.P.

For the teachers' movement moreover, that His Majesty should so spell national preferences in this sector on the question of increased pay and school management will have been taken fairly by sectors interested in continuing the issue in order to back their demands for an independent union. The new year message, among other things, will have to some degree dampened opposition enthusiasm in lifting this cause and a movement in this sector will now, it may safely be presumed, proceed much more cautiously than could have been anticipated earlier.

Amidst this pot-pouri of things political, is a new ingredient. The willingness to accept that there have been some mistakes in the economic front. The past two years moreover has seen a new emphasis on the private sector and that the New Year message should further stress it speaks for itself. The Raj Sabha meet having been put to use in suggesting reforms in basic policies in such widely encompassing sectors as the political, economic, cultural and security and the Royal message having made a point in stressing the beginning of a new plan period, there are ample indications hinting a change.



NEPAL

FOOD PROGRAM FOR 34 DISTRICTS PLANNED

Katmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 21 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

The Nutritious Food Programme (N.F.P.) will distribute food worth about 36 million rupees (approximately 2 million U.S. dollars) to Nepalese children in the next two years.

The project aided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Food Programme (WFP) will cover 34 districts of the country.

Under the aid programme, N.F.P. will receive 1500 tonnes of wheat, the sale of which will be utilised for the construction of new warehouses.

Besides this, 17,397 tonnes of Wheat Soya Milk (WSM), 1,262 tonnes of butter, 4,547 tonnes of dry skimmed milk (DSM) and 434 tonnes of sugar will also be provided for mass feeding, according to the concerned officials.

The project will be implemented in three phases. During the first phase 90 thousand children between the age group of 6 months and 5 years will be benefitted.

They will receive 120 grams of WSM and 30 grams of DSM per day, officials said.

In the primary schools and day care centres 5,700 children will each receive 80 grams WSM, 20 grams DSM, 20 grams butter oil and 10 grams sugar every day.

In social service institutions 2500 beneficiaries will be distributed 100 grams WSM, 30 grams butter oil and 10 grams sugar per head per day.

Besides this, primary school children, irrespective of their age, will receive 100 gram of WSM, 30 grams DSM, 30 grams butter oil

and 10 grams sugar each per day.

The distribution of food will be carried out from six regional offices in Kathmandu, Nepalgunj, Bhairahawa, Birgunj, Biratnagar and Mahendranagar.

From Kathmandu 41,800 beneficiaries in 10 districts will be covered.

Nepalgunj distribution centre will cover 5 districts reaching 16,800 heads, Bhairahawa will cover 5 districts (34,000 beneficiaries), Birgunj 4 districts (21,800 heads), Biratnagar centre 5 districts (24,800) and Mahendranagar in the far west will distribute the food to 5 districts covering 20,800 beneficiaries.

The NFP was launched in 1972.

Till last year about 863 thousand children have been benefitted by the programme, concerned officials said.

CSO: 4600/438

NEPAL

OIL SAID 'WELL STOCKED'

Katmandu THE MOTHERLAND in English 17 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

Considerable quantity of oil has been reserved in the country with a view to maintaining regularity in fuel supply, the Nepal Oil Corporation source has informed.

According to a press release issued by the corporation, 96,632 Kl diesel, 7,157 Kl kerosene, 1,547 Kl aviation fuel and 1,021 Kl petrol has been stocked at different places of the country.

In connection with supplying three thousand metric tons of bitumen to meet the demand of the country for various construction works this year, the corporation has reportedly made 60 percent of this substance available to the agencies concerned.

Although bitumen has been imported only from India this fiscal year, the corporation has made an agreement with Bangladesh to

import 3,000 metric tons of this substance annually from the coming fiscal year.

Besides Raxaul, fuel is being brought from Barauni also keeping in view the demand of oil in the capital. Nepali tankers have been transporting oil from Siligudhi for quite a long time now.

The press release also mentions that all possible means have been adopted to supply pure and high standard oil to customers.

Mentioning the recent visit of a deputation of Nepal to Kuwait and United Arab Emirates, the press release informs that an agreement has been concluded between these two countries and Nepal for supplying oil to Nepal at a reasonable price in future.

—RSS

PAKISTAN

AGREEMENTS TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC TIES WITH ARAB COUNTRIES SIGNED

Karachi DAWN in English 23 Apr 85 Business Supplement p 1

[Text]

KARACHI, April 22: An agreement providing for measures for improving economic and commercial ties between Pakistan and the Arab countries was signed between the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the General Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture for Arab Countries, here today.

The agreement was signed by Mr Aziz Zulfikar on behalf of FPCCI and Sheikh Ismail Abu Dawood, President of Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Commodity Exchange on behalf of the General Union of Arab Chambers.

Under the agreement a Pakistan-Union of Arab Chambers Joint Economic Cooperation Committee will be set up by FPCCI and the General Union of Chambers of Commerce for Arab Countries consisting of representatives nominated by the both sides. The meeting of this Committee will take place alternately in Pakistan and Arab countries every year.

The agreement comes into force immediately with its signing and, will be valid for a period of 5 years renewable with mutual consent of both the parties.

### Felicitations

Speaking briefly on the occasion, Sheikh Ismail Abu Dawood extended felicitations on this remarkable achievement which, he said, the two sides looked forward for a long time.

"I feel proud and contented on this achievement made for the greater welfare of Arab and Muslim countries," he said.

### Kingpin

Under the agreement the parties will exchange regular market information about the economic development of Pakistan and Arab countries to open up further possibilities of increased exchange of trade between the concerned countries and for the expansion of economic and industrial cooperation between the enterprises and organisations concerned.

— The parties will organise annual meeting of their representatives in Pakistan and in Arab countries alternately,

— Assist the visits of commercial and economic delegations and render maximum help for the realisation of business contracts,

— Exchange market information and publications on the existing laws and regulations pertaining to foreign trade and investment,

— Assist the enterprises in the said countries to participate on joint basis in third countries,

— Assist each other in the organisation of/or participation in national exhibitions, international fairs, specialised exhibitions, economic and technical fairs, information bureau, symposia, conference and similar events taking place in its country/ countries aiming at the expansion of economic cooperation,

— Assist in the amicable and friendly settlement of disputes between their members through conciliation and negotiation. —APP

PAKISTAN

PLANS TO RESUME POPULATION CONTROL MEASURES ENDORSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 18 Apr 85 p 7

[Article by Linesman]

[Text]

AFTER LONG YEARS of possibly enforced hibernation, the Population Planning and Welfare Department has announced plans to resume its ordained labours in order to save the country from uncontrolled population growth and the unhappy consequences that this entails — for individual families as well as for the nation as a whole.

There has been no lack of reliable statistics to prove that the problem needs to be dealt with on an emergency basis. It is estimated that about 10,000 children are born every day in Pakistan; and with the death rate falling steadily, this brings a 3.1 per cent annual rise in the country's population. This, in turn, leads to the frightening calculation that by 1990 Pakistan will have a population of more than 100 million, which will probably pass the disturbing figure of 150 million by the year 2000 A.D. This fantastic increase in population, which compares unfavourably with almost all other Asian countries (the growth rate in India is two per cent and even in more backward Bangladesh only 2.5 per cent), constitutes a heavy drag on living standards.

No more fudging

Even if all the projections for future development made by our economic planners were to be realised — which would in itself be a miracle —, the conclusion is plain that, with such competing growth rates, the people of Pakistan might

just be able to maintain their present standard of living for some years. This means that about the same percentage of our people will continue to live below the modest poverty line, and much larger numbers will suffer from the deprivations that afflict the mass of our people today. It could also mean that in the matter of such essentials as food, shelter, medical aid, and education, the proportion of men and women who will have to do without will go up steadily, and more than one bad crop year could either bring starvation or compel us to bring out additional begging bowls. In these circumstances, it is vital that the problem should be faced squarely, and this business of fudging issues by talking of not wanting to restrict life but seeking only to improve its quality should be forgotten.

The decision to rejoin the battle is, therefore, most welcome. It also seems logical that the Population Planning Department should decide to collaborate with China, which has experienced the same problems and dealt with them with extraordinary effectiveness over recent years. In addition to any expert help that China can offer, it would be useful

for the Pakistan Government to seek assistance from other countries — such as India — which have achieved excellent results and where social conditions and the people's taboos and prejudices are similar to those which persist in Pakistan. It should also be kept in mind that some of the drastic measures adopted in China will not go down in Pakistan; and, in any case, the risk of creating conditions which may lead to female infanticide must be avoided.

### Publicity and education

It has rightly been decided that the first item on the agenda for revival of family planning work is that of mass publicity and education, although the significance of the P.P.W.D. Secretary's condition that all publicity will be conducted through PTV, Radio or the publications now owned the National Press Trust is a little difficult to understand, particularly if credible support is sought for the campaign. Anyhow, all this is essential preparation for the host of other essential measures that must follow. It should also be realized that newspaper advertisements or spots on T.V. and Radio will not be sufficient to generate the public interest that must be built up wide and deep if it is to permeate down to the level where realization of the necessity of checks on population growth is most essential. Here again, the methods used in other countries should be plagiarised without hesitation or shame. And it is important that, apart from advertisements, earnest efforts should be made to ensure that the

subject is taken up by all sections of the media, and that the debate is introduced in all forums where national problems can be discussed seriously. This is necessary so that the publicity blitz begins to saturate the public mind, and compels people to think about the issue not merely because of the effect it may have on their personal lives but also on account of the disastrous results that neglect or failure in this campaign can produce for the country.

Wishing the revived family planning drive every success, one hopes that the project announced is not meant to be a brief spurt of bureaucratic activity, but that day after day, month after month, and year after year, the department and all its field workers, as well as the voluntary organizations engaged in this vital task, will work doggedly, conscientiously, till we begin to see positive results.

CSO: 4600/430

PAKISTAN

RELEASE OF AILING POLITICAL PRISONERS URGED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 18 Apr 85 p 6

[Text]

WHILE the case for immediate release of all political activists still held under preventive detention laws is virtually unanswerable, it needs to be said that further delay in freeing ailing political detenus will widely be regarded as both cruel and unjust. Two cases in particular invite urgent attention. Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, Sind Awami Tehrik Chief, and Mairaj Muhammad Khan, President of the Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, were incarcerated many years ago, and, for unexplained reasons, have not been granted any reprieve. It is not known if either of them is considered guilty of any act that constitutes an offence under the law of the land. Like other politicians, they have, of course, been voicing certain common political demands. Their political thinking may be a little sharper than that of others, their political activity a little better organised or more earnest. But these differences certainly cannot, do not, justify the routine extension of their detentions year after year.

Palejo has been suffering

from a complicated ailment which has reportedly brought him to death's door on many occasions: it is said that, but for the care taken of him after hospitalization first in Lahore and later in Karachi, the incarceration could well have ended his life prematurely. Mairaj Muhammad acquired a serious eye injury in 1974, during a police lathi-charge on a peaceful political demonstration. Since then, his eye has never healed properly, and he has not recovered his full vision. It is now reported that unless he is sent abroad for immediate medical treatment, because the sophisticated equipment required for his particular case is not available in Pakistan, he will lose one eye.

Since both cases relate to Sind, where a serving High Court Judge has been elevated to the post of Chief Minister-ship, there is special reason to expect that his past training will persuade him to examine the matter and take a speedy, favourable decision, so that these two political detenus do

not suffer irreparable bodily damage. In fact, following the induction of governments responsible to newly-elected legislatures, Authority's first priority should have been to make an overall review of the policy of depriving people of their liberty without charge or trial, so that all persons incarcerated under arbitrary executive orders could have been released dealing first with those who are ailing. Instead, the policy being followed has meant that detenus are being released in slow dribblets. One fails to see the advantage of this procedure. Perhaps, the bureaucrats who hold the keys to our prison gates are reluctant to give up an instrument of power or foster the impression that henceforth the laws of prevention detention will not be employed. Be that as it may, we hope that before long the new Governments at the Centre and in the Provinces will realise that if they are to carry conviction with the people they must begin to exercise their authority with better political judgement.

PAKISTAN

# COMMENTARY DISCUSSES 'USEFULNESS' OF NEW ASSEMBLIES

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 18 Apr 85 p 9

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

[Text] As time passes, the truth about the new Assemblies and the Cabinets formed at the Centre and the provinces is becoming clearer. Many people, earlier ready to give them the benefit of the doubt, now realise that these bodies are no better than the junior partners of Martial Law and that it is pointless to pin great hopes on them.

Those who think that Nawaz Sharif is the answer to the problems of the Punjab or that Ghaus Ali Shah will redress the historical wrongs suffered by Sind are playing a different game and should be left to their own devices. But it is time for the MRD to stop justifying its decision to boycott the polls which is now a closed chapter. There are more urgent matters awaiting its attention. As for the question of a dialogue with the Junejo Government, the very idea is preposterous. The political situation in the country being what it is, there is hardly anything to discuss. The government looks upon the MRD with contempt and can never be expected to take political negotiations seriously unless its hand is forced, not at the table but outside. And that is going to take more than resolutions or warnings of disaster.

## February Elections

But while all this is true, an important point should not be missed. Whereas the February elections have not given birth to very competent parliaments, they have thrown open a window of opportunity. With the passage of time, some of the rigour of Martial Law is bound to abate. Civilisation, genuine or false, will create its own mood and momentum. With the honour of its civilian facade to protect, the regime might feel less free to squash dissent by use of the iron fist. Such circumstances can be used to generate pressure for change. The MRD must forget everything else and focus its mind on this aspect of the situation.

Who knows when the civil war in Afghanistan reaches a boiling point. But at some point it has to and when it does it will confront Pakistan with painful choices. The five-year military and economic agreement with the United States is about to

come to an end; and while negotiations may already have begun on the terms of a fresh agreement, the military at home will have to think very hard before automatically rubber stamping the policies of the last five years. If General Zia's last meeting in the Kremlin is any guide, Moscow's patience with Islamabad seems about to ebb. What precise form the emerging Soviet hardline takes is not clear, but the question must be pondered carefully. As for the economic situation, despite generous doses of Western aid, everyone agrees that it is pretty bad. How long can the present dispensation survive in such circumstances?

#### New Urgency

To look at the other side of the picture, at home there is a new urgency in the atmosphere. Far from being bypassed the political parties seem possessed by a new sense of purpose. The PPP has conducted a reorganisation which has brought new faces into its upper echelons. Jatoi, hitherto the symbol of "moderation" has begun to sound more forceful. Air Marshal Asghar Khan, going beyond the usual slogans which have been the stock-in-trade of the MRD leadership, has begun discussing some important issues. In recent days he has referred to the need to restructure the country's defence establishment and to develop an egalitarian and productive socioeconomic structure. These are the issues which lie at the heart of the country's chronic political condition. Unless the defence establishment is trimmed and a basis is laid for a people's army, it is hard to see how real democracy can take root in the country. Thus, despite appearances to the contrary, events in and around the country are sowing the seeds of a major confrontation which, given the elements of the present crisis, promises to dwarf previous agitations in the nation's history. It is worth remembering that the mills of God may grind slowly but they grind exceedingly small.

Sooner or later the armed forces will have to come to grips with two inter-related matters: Martial Law and the question of the army command. Continuation of Martial Law will take away what credibility there is from the present civilian experiment. Lifting Martial Law will push the government nearer to its moment of truth. Can it afford this test? Can the present structure remain standing without the help of Martial Law? No one can tell but these remain crucial questions. And what will happen once General Zia, against his better judgment, packs his bags and moves from the army house to the Presidency? It is a prospect not without its share of misgivings.

#### When Change Comes

In the context of the momentous issues building upon the horizon, questions relating to the role and efficacy of the present Assemblies are scarcely worth the asking. Change in Pakistan has never come from within elected or appointed parliaments, it has either come through the army's pressure or the agitation to the masses. And when it has come, Assemblies have not prevented it. The removal of Ayub, Yahya and Bhutto is instructive in this regard. This time, too, the stage for change will be set in the towns and, to a limited extent, the villages of Pakistan. The Assemblies elected on 25 and 28 February will be as irrelevant as the ones that come before them.



PAKISTAN

ASGHAR KHAN PRAISED FOR STAND ON SECULARISM, ISLAM

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 18 Apr 85 pp 11, 30

[Article by M. B. Naqvi: "In Praise of Asghar Khan"]

[Text] The Air Marshal has had the courage to call the Emperor naked. His simple and rather obvious statement, at a Meet the Press programme in Lahore, that in the actual business of state Islam is irrelevant, has been received in shocked silence by those who noisily trade in Islamic wares. Asghar Khan's main criticism of unthinking enthusiasm for Islamic Ideology as unavoidably promoting sectarian strife has been studiously ignored: Only a few oblique aspersions have been cast on him in certain columns.

Asghar Khan's case rests on solid historical evidence. Islam is, of course, not the discovery of Pakistanis; Islam did exist long before Pakistan or the latter-day enthusiasts of Islamic and/or Pakistan Ideology were born, without any noticeable deformity in Muslims or Islam. During its 1,500 years, Islam has meant different things to different people, as the Munir Inquiry Commission Report authoritatively laid down, once and for all. It conspicuously failed to discover and report a detailed common code of life--from cradle to grave, covering the specifics of state structure, economy, society and culture--for all Muslims. And it did try.

De Facto Secularism

What it did find was innumerable sects that comprised the main body of Muslims, each distinct in its beliefs and observances and quite intolerant, in theory, of every other sect's teachings. It is true they had all learned to coexist peacefully through long centuries, largely because of the pragmatic tolerance, clearly amounting to de facto secularism, of rulers even in the case of notably "Islamic" rulers the world over. Where anyone showed intolerance, there were ethnic-cum-religious or sectarian revolts, chiefly in what is called the Islamic World. But they mostly let sleeping dogs lie.

India was, however, a special case; it was a largely non-Muslim country with Muslim princes ruling large parts of it. They had to be quite secular in practice, even in the intra-Muslim dealings. The Muslim rule in Delhi, regional centres or even in smaller principalities hardly ever disturbed any community's or sect's

usual observances in their own communal places of worship or social get-togethers. The Muslim period of history in India, insofar as this term can descriptively be used, was certainly characterised by a notable unity in great diversity of all kinds--even in the corpus of the Muslim part of polity.

But as soon as Pakistan was formed, three groups of Ulema--one led by Maulana [name indistinct] Maudoodi, the other comprising the remnants of Majlis- [name indistinct], and the third composed of the Deobandi school of thought--quickly became very vocal. Led by Maulana Maudoodi, they took their stand not on All-India Muslim League's resolutions or serious pronouncements but on the popular slogans that some people might have raised--that 'Islam ka matlab kya [name indistinct] or that 'Pakistan would be a laboratory of Islam'--and demanded a uniquely Islamic State, such as has never been. All ulema of other schools of thought soon chipped in for establishing such a uniquely Islamic system--covering all aspects of collective life--without inquiring whether such common political, economic, social and cultural prescriptions did actually exist. Or, for the matter of that, how would such a state deal with the many, many doctrinal differences among the Muslims.

The results could be foreseen. While the ingenuity of Western-style-educated Muslims could produce an Objectives Resolution that remains the highest watermark of "Islamic learning" by Muslim elites to this day, it blithely ignores the minor detail of translating its high-sounding emotive phrases into a practicable structure. As soon as the problem of actually building an Islamic state is faced, the first question to be tackled is to define Islam and determine who is a Muslim.

#### No Single Concept

Other difficult and obtuse questions of what that uniquely Islamic system implies come afterwards. As that masterly and indubitably impartial Munir Commission Report exemplifies, there is no single concept of Islam and no common definition of Muslim; most Muslims, when pressed to define their Islamic faith, regard every other follower of a different sect, or even a different school of thought, as among the Deobandis and Brelvis, kafir (infidel). Riots have broke out over the definition of who is a Muslim.

Subsequently, two things happened. The Westernised elites that wanted simple democracy and secular politics, suitably clothed in Islamic-looking robes, lost their nerve. They also fell prey to the all-absorbing vagaries of ethnic conflicts (of Bengalis-versus-Punjabis or even Punjabis-versus-Sindhi, Baluch or Pathan particularisms) that flatly falsified the concept of Islamic solidarity. Secondly, constitution-making came to a halt and palace intrigues began. Democracy was overthrown by a combination of civilian and military bureaucracy, never to return except for brief interludes of uncertain quality. Locus of power soon shifted to the military elite that has presided over a combination of all the other elites with competence and consistency ever since. That is where we are.

In the meantime, the military bureaucracy discovered the uses and misuses of the catch phrase of Islamic or Pakistan Ideology whether or not anybody knew, or agreed with, what these things implied. In effect, Islamic slogans were hijacked by the generals from the Mullahs. But the mischief that mindless chanting of such vague and undefined shibboleths, day in and day out, can do in a Muslim society remains potent. Enforcing Islam in a predominantly Islamic populace--such as had never happened in all Islam's history of over 800 years in the subcontinent--has made Islam a controversial subject.

Asghar Khan rightly sees much trouble and sectarian strife ahead; there is plenty of evidence in the last 37 years' history; the number and kind of sectarian riots and tensions in Pakistan in recent years are a post-independence contribution by dealers in vague Islamic witchwords. More can be expected in future, if the present trends and tensions--some of them sedulously promoted by powerful hidden interests--are not arrested and reversed.

Let no one be carried away by the simple notion that all the current emphasis on enforcing undefined Islam is motivated solely by the easily-discerned calculation of throttling democracy through deceptively Islamic verbiage and retaining power by those who hold it today. This is certainly so. But there is far more to it. As the history of Pakistan politics shows, we now run the risk of destroying Pakistan's integrity and independence by acquiescing in this bizarre political game and not exposing it. Mr Asghar Khan's clearly-implied argument that Pakistan's national unity and integrity, indeed survival, can only be guaranteed by keeping religious controversies out of the business of state, or secular politics, need strong support against the fake fanaticism being spread by exploiters of Islam.

Few of these interested elites care to acknowledge historical evidence provided by Quaid-i-Azam's 11 August 1947 speech, his thousand and one pronouncements through the 40 years of his career, the Muslim League's own documents or the speeches video-recorded by leaders of Pakistan Movement now lying in PTV's archives. There was also Muslim politics before 1940. What did it say? For 150 years of British rule Muslim savants and politicians had preached some policies, philosophies and ideals. What were they? How did they accord with this Islamic or Pakistan Ideology? These blind enthusiasts of an uncertain ideology will just not stop and think. But others should review the last 37 years.

#### Objectives

Briefly, when the bureaucratic-led retreat from democracy and constitution-making began the early years of Pakistan, the anti-democrats were especially loud in their passionate declarations of Islamic solidarity and national unity. They wanted not merely a "strong Centre" in the name of Muslim brotherhood but two other unavowed things: The rule over the Centre should be of the (West Pakistani) feudals and, secondly, the nondescript Bengali majority should somehow be kept outside. Islam was made the instrument to deprive the Bengali majority of what it thought to be its due.

Similarly, Islamic values of unity, fraternity and equality were preached to provide the basis for One Unit that, on the one hand, suppressed the assertion of ethnic identities in West Pakistan and, on the other, was a means of confronting

and negating East Bengal's majority. Ask any Sindhi, Baluch or Pathan whether his Islamic feelings were particularly strengthened by One Unit? Or he felt closer to the Centre?

Another use of Islam was to justify not merely anti-democratic governments, it was pressed in the service of maintaining a highly inegalitarian social and economic order, especially in West Pakistan. To this day, narrow social and economic elites are ruling Pakistan and Islamic slogans are providing their only justification. The Muslim people, whenever they had a chance, voted for modernist parties that promised them solutions to their day-to-day problems.

This happened in 1936-1937 elections when the Muslim League was preferred to orthodox religious parties or local notables in certain key areas, especially Bengal and some Muslim minority provinces. The Muslim masses rejected authentic religious parties of great prestige in 1946 in favour of a non-Islamic Muslim League. In 1954 East Bengalis wiped out the Muslim League despite its Islamic slogans and campaigning by Miss Fatima Jinnah. In 1970 again, all Right-wing and religious parties were swept away in favour of socialists in both Wings. The 1977 controversial elections, too, had in fact returned a majority that was for socialism. The 1985 elections do not qualify for political comment.

#### No Controversy

The conclusion is inevitable: The Muslim people of Pakistan take Islam for granted; it is not a subject to be exercised over. The ideological mumbo-jumbo is pressed only by anti-democrats who have no beneficial or coherent policy to present and they force themselves and this ideology down our throats through all manner of restrictions on pain of draconian punishments. The object of the exercise remains the same: preservation of the rule by the narrow elites.

But in the process by mouthing Islamic slogans for doubtful social and political ends, they are dynamiting the very foundations of national unity and the country's integrity. For, the underprivileged ethnic minorities, smaller sects and the majority of politically-aware citizens see through the game. Hitherto, they have merely condemned the game. But if the mischief continues, what the disinherited and the underprivileged may do is anyone's guess.

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